

## The challenge of China

There is a measure of irony in the fact that India Gandhi now talks of "unity" and "discipline" as a way out of India's profound economic troubles. These are precisely the goals stressed by India's rival neighbor — the People's Republic of China.

As one watches the crisis of democracy in India — and the growing surge toward authoritarianism in many corners of the globe — the dilemma of the modern age is driven home with renewed force: Can a nation burdened with poverty, illiteracy and a feudal social system lift itself into the 20th century without resorting to authoritarian methods and force?

A number of emerging countries today making perceptible economic headway — Iran, South Korea, Brazil, Taiwan — have to lesser or greater extent sacrificed some values of individual freedom. Some, like Indonesia and Pakistan, are today less authoritarian than in the past. But, as Pat Moynihan, the new U.S. chief delegate to the UN, said recently, "Liberal democracy is not an ascendant ideology. There aren't many of us left in the world. Democracies seem to disappear. I don't see any new ones emerging."

It has long been fashionable to draw comparisons between India, "the world's most populous democracy," and China, that revolutionary colossus of 900 million people. The hope has been that India would eventually prove that democracy could provide both freedom and food.

Yet a quarter of a century after India became independent and the Chinese Communists came to power in Peking the challenge of Maoist China remains formidable. It resides not in military might or aggressive foreign policies — but in the communist system it is forging, and the potential appeal it has for developing nations.

As a series in this newspaper bears out, China has made creditable economic progress. It is feeding and clothing its people. Within its limited goals, its industrial growth has been quite good and it has managed this without foreign aid. Society is unified, orderly and disciplined. People's energies are bent toward national goals that will benefit all.

The price the Chinese are paying for such progress is of course the total loss of political and intellectual freedom. The individual is subordinated to the needs of the state. As a contemporary Chinese poet chillingly puts it, "I would like to be a tiny screw so that they can put me where they want and screw me in tightly."

Such a sentiment is abhorrent to those who know freedom. Yet it is hard to argue the

democratic processes to a destitute, backward people who see more rapid solutions in authoritarian methods. The crying need of many poor countries is how to instill the national discipline and cooperation essential to economic growth while permitting citizens the greatest possible degree of personal liberty. Portugal's militant rulers want to do just that but the goal seems difficult of attainment.

One can sympathize with Mrs. Gandhi's appeal for discipline and sacrifice. Unless Indians put their shoulder to the wheel, rid their institutions of crippling corruption, and, as a New Delhi government order reads, "shake off the old lethargy," there is little hope for advancement.

But how much better for India and the world if it could achieve these goals not through coercion from above but through individual self-discipline, through the willingness of every citizen and every segment of society — press, industry, farmers — to impose their own constraints and moderate their demands. Democracy after all does not mean irresponsibility.

At the same time, may it not be forgotten that only in an atmosphere of freedom can a nation nurture those creative ideas that alone will ultimately break down all limitations, be they economic or social or cultural. The great gift of democracy is that it enables the individual to strive for and reach his highest potential. Surely the point can be made that the very technology and products of industrialization the emerging third world nations seek were developed initially in free, democratic societies.

It is to be earnestly hoped Mrs. Gandhi will choose to return her country to democratic rule — and give it another opportunity to demonstrate that the Indian, not the Chinese, way is the hope of the future.

'Dragons are real after all...'



The Christian Science

## What that handshake in space represents

For a short while at least the world can pause from its carbohydrous troubles and let its attention soar skyward.

The Apollo-Soyuz flight does not have quite the heart-stopping drama of the first moon landing. The project did not require much new equipment and it is not expected to yield significant scientific results. But it does demonstrate that the world's rival superpowers can collaborate in some fields. If successful, it should help warm the air of détente.

This does not mean that after the American

and Russian spacemen shake hands 140 miles over the earth, the way is automatically open to the joint exploration of space. Nor that the Russians will abandon their expansionist drive in the Middle East, Western Europe, and Asia. Nor that the Kremlin will suddenly allow political and intellectual freedom at home. Nor that it will stop looking for the collapse of the capitalist system.

The joint space mission serves the Russians well. It has gained them exposure to American space facilities and technology. And, while the

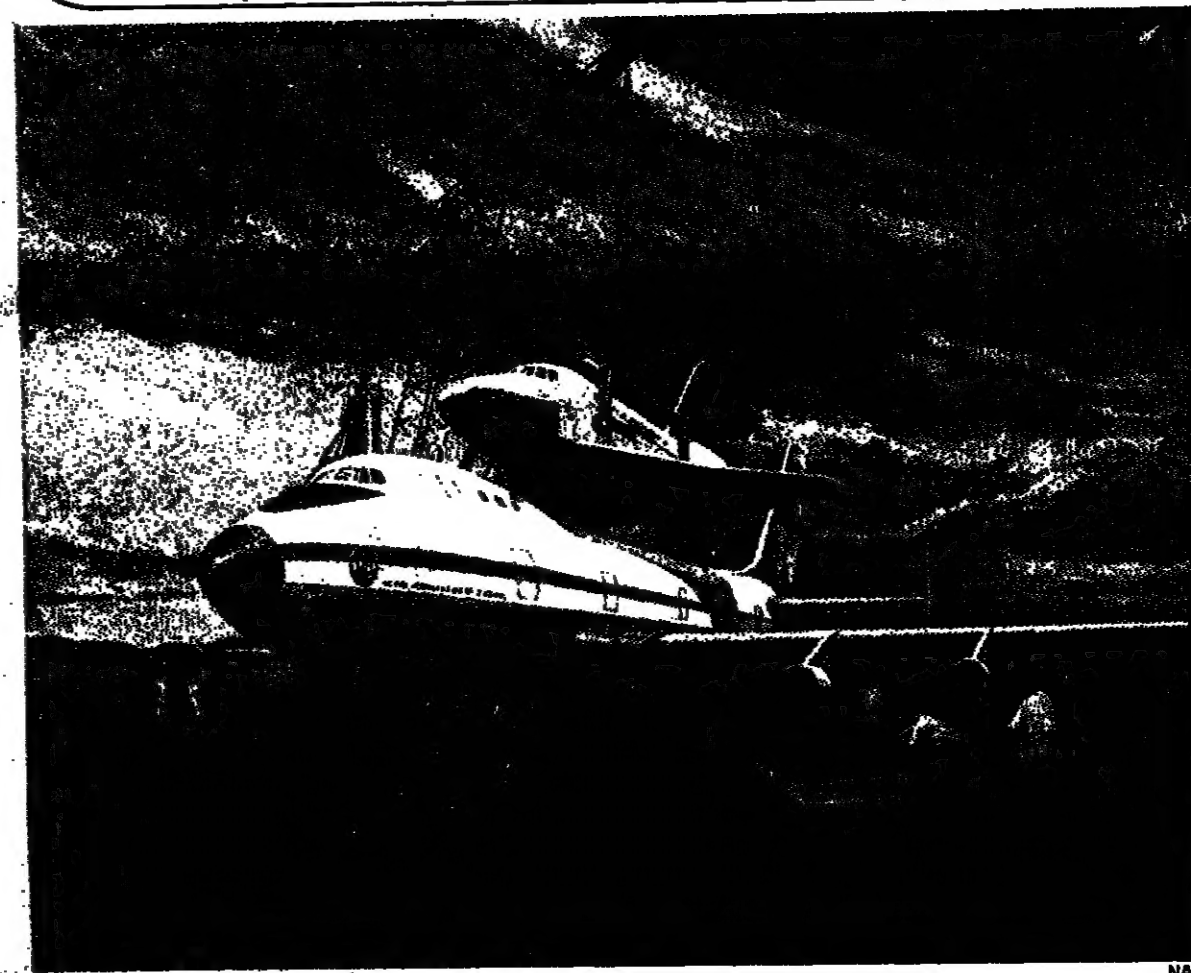
subject of the flight is to test a docking system that can be used to rescue, the superiority of American technology places the United States in a position to effect such rescue.

Nonetheless, Apollo-Soyuz is America, too. The rationale of détente in the nuclear age is a policy of accommodation better than one of hostile confrontation. It is to engage the Russians in a gradual process of international scene that is to be the wiser to encourage a gradual change in their authoritarian system through people and ideas across borders, rather than like pariahs. In the long run, it invites aggressiveness, and it is responsible.

Hence, while Americans should abhor the despotism of the Soviet Union, they must remain vigilant against Soviet aggressiveness — as writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn eloquently warns — they must seek détente. They can only do so by refraining the nuclear arms race, also sell grain to the Soviet Union, and by cooperating in scientific endeavors.

Apollo-Soyuz yielded much over the long five years the project has been in the making. Each side had to accommodate the other in scheduling, in the releasing information to the public, in signaling safety equipment. The Russians are not totally open in showing their space facilities but they are more than before. And for the first time, audiences will see a Russian space station.

In short, the scientific interest in space should not be overestimated. It is a symbol of what can be accomplished when men work together; it holds out great hope both in space and on earth.



Artist's drawing of space shuttle being lowered onto Boeing 747 for piggy-back test launch

## Europe gets in on the space shuttle

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Johnson Space Center, Houston

As Apollo flew on and Soyuz headed for landing, discussions turned here on earth to the next step toward an even wider international era in space.

Although it will not occur until the 1980s, the step will break the monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union in the arena of manned space flight. It will put the first European in orbit.

The mission involves the American space shuttle — a stubby-winged glider about the size of a small jet

airliner — and a European-built space laboratory called Spacelab, which will fit into the shuttle cargo bay. The European astronaut will not be a pilot, but a specialist who operates the laboratory.

Bernard Deloffre, director of the space lab program of the new European Space Agency (ESA), and Heinz Stoewer, the project manager, met with National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) officials while American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts exchanged medals and tree seeds and made flowery speeches about détente and cooperation in space.

The design and building of Spacelab was the topic of the ESA-NASA discussion. It is basically a long, narrow box which the shuttle can carry. The lab will serve as everything from a small factory to a test unit for the possibility of space manufacturing to an orbiting astronomical observatory. The U.S. Air Force also has expressed interest in the lab, says Mr. Deloffre.

Because of the difficulties of building space hardware, this laboratory is expected to cost roughly \$400 million — not counting inflation. The first lab is expected to be delivered to NASA in 1978.

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## President Ford sees light on the Middle East horizon

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
President Ford is "encouraged" at movement toward a Middle East settlement, saying "it is a lot closer than it was two months ago."

In a wide-ranging interview last week with correspondents of this newspaper and two others, Mr. Ford's responses also contained a subtle but unmistakable theme of continued pressure on Israel.

He referred twice to the necessity of a "comprehensive" program being submitted, probably at Geneva, to achieve peace. He said, this is part of the U.S. warning to Israel to make concessions or see the U.S. take a more far-reaching overall plan for settlement to Geneva — where Moscow undoubtedly would press for changes favorable to the Arabs.

Up to now, according to Mr. Ford, the Soviet role has been "very quiet."

Mr. Ford, interviewed by this correspondent, by George F. Will of the Washington Post Writers' Group, and by William Anderson of the Chicago Tribune also said he had "talked to the Secretary" (of State Henry Kissinger) about the possibility of bartering U.S. grain for Soviet oil. At another point he said, "We have talked about it in general without getting into specifics."

The Russians do have a sizable crude-oil capacity, but we have not got into specifics on that.

Whether the Soviets need U.S. grain badly enough to agree to any kind of barter deal is not known here. In recent years, Moscow has tended to turn away from barter deals, knowledgeable observers report.

However, the President has looked into the possibility with Dr. Kissinger.

Asked about concern among Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and military sources that intelligence sources might be drying up because of intense publicity and congressional probes

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## What each side will gain from Helsinki summit

By Dana Adams Schindt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

For the United States: a mixed bag of diplomatic concessions and assurances that human rights will be more respected in Eastern Europe from now on.

For the Soviet Union: a recognition of the post-World War II map of Europe, including boundaries in Eastern Europe that resulted from Soviet force at the end of the war.

These, in brief, are the benefits both sides look to gain as a result of the long-awaited agreement on a 100-page "charter" now reported ready for signing at a 35-nation summit in Helsinki, July 30.

President Ford will visit Warsaw, Belgrade, and Bucharest while he is in Europe for the signing. Such a presidential journey would underline the common interest in Washington and these East European capitals in having the United States stand in support of freer human rights, despite its signature on the "charter."

The carefully worded White House announcement says Mr. Ford's presence in Helsinki will reflect the U.S. view that the agreements represent "a positive step in our country's efforts to build a more stable and productive East-West relationship."

Diplomatic observers here emphasize that the agreements to be signed do not constitute a legally binding treaty, they are simply declarations of intent.

For the Soviet Union, the declarations clearly mean that the Western world has in effect written off all the territories annexed by Moscow after World War II.

The State Department sees no such commitment. It emphasizes the concessions the Soviets have been willing to make to obtain the Helsinki summit. For years Moscow argued in favor of a strictly European agreement, excluding Washington. In the end it agreed to include both the U.S. and Canada.

Other concessions included the four-power agreement on the status of Berlin, concluded several years ago and now said to be working satisfactorily in the interests of the West. Another concession was to agree to discuss mutual and balanced force reductions between the Eastern bloc and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This discussion has made less headway.

Since then the Soviets have also agreed to endorse the principle of "peaceful change" in Europe. Moscow originally insisted that the language of the agreements precludes any further change in European borders — i.e., in the borders of East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia in particular.

But the West held out for recognition that change might still arise in the future from peaceful talks between East and West Germany. The Soviets eventually agreed.

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## Why Moscow wants a European conference

The Russians have pressed for an all-European conference on security and cooperation since 1954. After years of talk and wrangling — and dragging a reluctant United States along — the end is in sight. An East-West summit is around the corner.

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It is in the area of human rights and East-West contacts that the West Europeans pressed hardest. Although the declaration that emerged is filled with ambiguities, it reflects some concessions from the Soviet side on such matters as religion, families, marriages of Soviet and Western citizens, access to information, and travel. Some improvement is also promised for foreign journalists in Moscow. Critics may feel the Russians are still too unyielding in this area, but any step of liberalization is welcome.

Perhaps the greatest value of the conference is in its benefit to the East European communists. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia still in mind, the Romanians and Yugoslavs, especially, are eager to have

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Moscow notarize the principle of "inviolability of frontiers." They are also interested in future follow-up meetings at which the results of the conference can be reviewed and the Russians held to account. Certainly it is in the West's interest, too, to give the East European freedom of movement.

But, beyond that, by which to build. The important thing is that the West not let down its guard in a surge of euphoria. The Russians have not abandoned their political goals. They would like to tell Western Europe that thinking there is no longer a Soviet military threat and therefore no longer a need for a strong political and military alliance.

It would be grave for the West if that strategy worked. Now that the European conference is soon over, the time has come to press the Russians in the areas that really count — the SALT talks and the aborted negotiations for mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe. Until mutual trust is established through concrete steps such as these, the flag of vigilance must fly high.

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Johnson Space Center, Houston

## How left-wing extremists worm way to power in Britain

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

There are signs that the tide is turning against extreme left-wing influence inside Britain's Labour Party. Following their defeat in the referendum on the Common Market (which they, like Moscow, wanted Britain to quit), and now the government's plan to curb runaway wage demands, the leftists' claim to wisdom is being queried more and more by rank and file Labour supporters.

It would be a mistake to think the extremists are simply agents of the Moscow line. Some are. But there has long been a native streak of radicalism in British politics, and to this has been added the influence of theorists from Holland, Germany, France, Cuba and China too.

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Edward Heath: MPs cheered  
Heath transcends party differences in much-praised anti-inflation speech

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# Europe

Anti-Communist backlash sets in

## Portugal: a new defiance stirs in the land

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The spread of anti-Communist violence and civil unrest across Portugal has started to undermine Gen. Vasco Gonçalves' future as Prime Minister.

Socialist leader Mario Soares, who called for

General Gonçalves' ouster at a rally recently, drew censure from the military. But this did little to dispell speculation that the Primo Minister's days were numbered.

General Gonçalves, an emotional man, has maintained his position through three provisional governments. He is considered the Communist Party's best friend in the hierarchy of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

His ouster would represent a severe setback for the traditional pro-Moscow Communists and possibly lead to a curtailment of their influence in the government. His departure, however, would not necessarily benefit the non-Communist parties.

For the main benefactor from any move against General Gonçalves would probably be the Socialist Left Movement (MES), a small but influential group of intellectuals with an ill-defined philosophy to the left of the Communists.

Several "ex-MES" members have already been incorporated in the government, and the indications are that more will be brought into the new cabinet being formed.

It has been these men — with the backing of military-security chief Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho — who have convinced the ruling Revolutionary Council that the best way to solve the country's economic, social, and political crisis is to keep pushing further and further to the left.

These shifts reached their current apex with the decision to set up a mass people's movement to gradually replace the political parties and for a "people's democracy." This

plan was the idea of General Carvalho, who is fast emerging as a possible new strong man.

To a certain extent, the shift to this movement represents a panic response by the military to its rapidly declining public support in the countryside.

Earlier in the month, mobs with anti-military overtones clashed with Communists and wrecked the party's headquarters in at least 10 widely separated places. A soldier was shot and killed in one of the incidents, and 15 civilians were injured in another.

The public unrest was brought to the surface by the withdrawal of the Socialists and left-of-center Popular Democrats from the coalition cabinet in protest against the military's violation of press freedom and other democratic rights.

In Oporto and Lisbon recently, the Socialists drew some of the biggest crowds in the revolution's 15-month history. In both cities, the Communists, backed by the military, tried to prevent these gatherings, but in each case failed miserably.

The explanation for the sudden decision by the public to defy the military and Communists in vast numbers is fairly simple. The two opposition parties have convinced the Portuguese that the moment of final decision is high and they must stand up and be counted.

The driver of the taxi taking this writer to the Socialist rally in Lisbon reflected this new civilian militancy.

"We are thoroughly sick of the MFA. Why don't they go back to their barracks?" he said. "We don't want them."

The driver of another taxi hired by reporters a tour of Oporto before the rally there provided a similar view.

"This region is revolted by the military. We're going to revolt against them," he said. "It was a limited straw poll, but middle-class friends are saying the same thing. It does bode well for the military."

Shanghai

Miss Salkowski has just completed a 24-day tour of China with a delegation of American newspaper editors.

By Charlotte Salkowski  
Chief editorial writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chia Ching-lu is a sturdy, self-assured young worker. Not too many years ago he finished senior middle school, the equivalent of an American high school, and started working as a grinding-gear machine operator at the Shanghai No. 2 Steam Turbine Plant. Today he is manager of the plant.

His meteoric rise to the top of one of China's major industrial facilities was the result of the Cultural Revolution. During those tempestuous days political activist Chia joined others in criticizing then-manager Yu Tung-cheng. Mr. Yu was ousted, "re-educated," and today he is the plant's chief engineer and No. 2 in the management.

"Old Yu had a lot of old mentality before the Cultural Revolution," the volatile Mr. Chia

told visiting American editors with a hearty laugh, as Mr. Yu sat beside him.

Here, in capsule, was a vivid example of that egalitarianism and youthful drive with which the Chinese leadership hopes to thrust the nation into the 20th century. Mr. Yu is clearly the brains of the plant, but the fervent worker is expected to keep things running.

Unless there are growing material incentives, it will take a lot of such revolutionary fervor to meet China's goal of becoming a strong, modern country in 25 years' time. Industry has grown at a respectable rate of 7 to 15 percent a year. But steel production slipped in the first six months of this year and, in general, high growth rates have been possible because China starts from such a low base.

This is still a developing country. As the deputy leader of Shanghai pointed out to us, China has its ships, trains, and airplanes, but the wheelbarrow, bicycle, pedicab, draft animal, and sheer human muscle are still the chief modes of transport. Tractors and combines have begun to dot the countryside, but it is still the millions of peasants bent over in the fields who produce the food.

At a new hotel in Peking the window drapes in one's room are operated electrically. Yet in the foreign-exchange office in the lobby transactions are carried out by abacus and a bevy of clerks.

In the department stores the shelves are stocked with simple, well-made consumer items. But the most the average Chinese might own, besides his utilitarian clothing, is a watch, a bicycle, a radio, and, possibly, a sewing machine or a musical instrument.

The need for housing is acute. Urban centers are warrens of shabby one-story dwellings without running water or heat, and even relatively modern housing is dreadfully run down. City streets and courtyards are uncommonly clean but, because of more pressing priorities, little effort is given to maintenance of buildings.

Even the new dwellings, moreover, are densely populated. At a neat, pleasant housing complex outside Shanghai a family of four to six members lives in two rooms, sharing a kitchen and toilet facilities with neighbors.

In the factories the contrasts are equally stark. Occasionally we saw a fully automated line, but manufacturing processes are still labor-intensive.

Equipment often has a jerry-built appearance, and, to the credit of the Chinese, some ingenious contraptions are devised to substitute for modern machinery. At a transistor factory near Harbin, for instance (housed in a cluster of buildings built as a Russian summer resort), workers had fashioned a metal-punching machine out of an old sewing machine — displaying the kind of inventiveness and "self-reliance" so extolled throughout the country.

Whether China's industry is efficient is difficult for a visiting foreigner to gauge. But one surprising impression is the rather easygoing pace of work. In plants and elsewhere there is not the air of hard-driving energy one finds in, say, Japan.

On the contrary, although the Chinese boast that they have no unemployment, there obviously is a great amount of underemployment. One sees workers just standing around in the factories, and many machines seem manned by more hands than necessary.

At the Shanghai Diesel Engine plant officials admitted to "shortcomings" in management. There was need for more technical innovation, they said, some shops were busier

than others, and production was not evenly balanced.

Although China still stresses "self-reliance and independence," it has made the decision to import Western technology, including entire plants, in order to automate and modernize more rapidly. Even now Americans are installing ammonia plants in Szechwan and Hellingklang provinces.

One of the uncertainties of the future is what impact industrialization will have on the nation's millions of young people. Industry is where the action is, and youth, if they cannot get into the People's Liberation Army, aspire next to work in a factory.

By Western standards, the living standard of the average worker is spartan. His wage averages roughly between 40 and 130 yuan (\$22 and \$71) a month, depending on age, region of the country, skill, and political attitude. He works eight hours a day, six days a week, and has a paid vacation only when his family lives somewhere else. There are also seven national holidays.

Rent runs a modest 3 to 5 percent of wages, and medical care is free. At the Shanghai Diesel Engine plant workers can purchase lunch for as little as 15 to 50 fun (8 to 28 cents), and there is free bus service from Shanghai.

Also, in the drive to provide China with technicians, factories now have so-called "July 21 colleges" where a worker can upgrade his skills. If he has the right political viewpoint and has a good work record, he has a chance perhaps to follow in the footsteps of Chia Ching-lu. But he must subordinate his desires to the needs of the state.

Whether ideological incentives will suffice to keep the industrial momentum going is the big question. For the moment the Chinese leadership is keeping the eight-point wage scale, under which some workers are paid more than others. But apparently this is not enough. Earlier this year there were reports of labor dissatisfaction over wages at coal mines and iron and steel plants.

Asked about such disturbances, Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told the American newspaper editors that some of the demands were "rational and reasonable," while others came from "bad elements."

It looks as if China in the future will tread a delicate course between dangling economic incentives and demanding political devotion.

## Korean Protestants on trial

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The judge entered the crowded courtroom and shouted for all those present to stand up. Directly in front of him stood four men dressed in white prison garb and locked in handcuffs.

The four were not common criminals, but Protestant ministers. The charge against them was embezzlement. But their supporters, as well as many independent observers, were convinced that their only crimes were the work they had done among the urban poor and the appeals they had made for the restoration of democracy in South Korea.

For the Korean Protestant ministers who have been assisting urban factory workers and slum dwellers, the heat is on. Almost all of these ministers, usually known as Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) workers, have been detained for questioning by the police or the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) over the past few years. Some have been arrested.

The Park Chung Hee government has shown a growing tendency to try to discredit UIM workers by labeling them communists. At a recent government briefing for officials and university administrators, two Protestant organizations engaged in work among the urban poor, the Seoul Metropolitan Community Organization and the Korean Nation Council of Churches (NCC), were described as "communists."

Much of South Korea's rapid economic growth can be attributed to a competitive advantage given it by hard-working but low-paid workers. Under the law, the workers are

supposed to be allowed to organize and bargain with management. In reality the government, often working through the KCIA, keeps the workers under strict control. The relative handful of Protestant and Roman Catholic ministers who are trying to make the workers aware of their legal rights and improve their living conditions are viewed by the government as dangerous subversives.

By bringing the Rev. Kim Kwan Suk, general secretary of the NCC, to trial on embezzlement charges, the government has removed an effective critic and organizer of assistance to the urban poor. Mr. Kim's absence has badly weakened the council, which brings together six Protestant denominations.

The prosecutor has charged that the four ministers misappropriated funds provided for urban missionary work by an organization representing West German Protestant churches. The organization itself has issued a statement saying that what the four did with the money was in accordance with its aims, which included research, community organization activities, and the realization of "democratic consciousness and social justice."

Part of the money went to assist the families and lawyers of eight men who were executed in early April. The eight were accused of being underground communists attempting to organize a movement to overthrow the Park government. A number of South Korean clergymen as well as foreign missionaries are convinced that the eight men, who were convicted in secret trials, were the innocent victims of a conspiracy theory invented by the KCIA to discredit noncommunist protesters by linking them with the underground communists.



Mario Soares calls . . .



. . . for Vasco Gonçalves to go

## Brandt sees possibilities and risks in Helsinki summit

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe at the end of this month will bind the United States even closer to free Europe, former West German chancellor Willy Brandt said in an interview here.

And in the wake of the security conference agreements, "perhaps in the first half of 1976," the Russians may well "come nearer the substance" of an agreement to reduce conventional forces in Europe, he added.

He stressed, however, that any agreement in the military area would be "limited" and would depend on further U.S.-Soviet agreements in the strategic arms limitations talks (SALT).

Still considered "Mr. Detente" in Europe, Mr. Brandt has just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, where he received a warm personal welcome from Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

He cautioned that the Russians are still "very reluctant to reduce armaments."

The former chancellor, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in achieving bilateral detente treaties with the Soviet Union and China, said the detente process has changed the rules governing contacts between families and individuals residing in different countries, and the right of recognized religious bodies to maintain contact with one another, to arrange international meetings and to exchange information. This, however, presumably does not apply to such groups in the Soviet Union as the various Baptists, which are not officially registered, and other smaller churches.

The West seems to have been a winner in dealings with the Soviet Union, he said, as it has been able to modify them, he continued. "Only when Europe changes in a bigger context can the German problem be solved."

The European agreements to be signed at a 35-nation summit meeting in Helsinki "include possibilities and risks for both sides," Mr. Brandt said.

He himself suggested — and Sweden put forward the idea in the negotiations — that the signatory countries meet again in 1977 and report on what has been done.

"I take for granted that the ideological rivalry will go on," Mr. Brandt said. "But we want that, and Western democracy is stronger now than 20 years ago."

The former chancellor thinks that the public in the United States must learn to be more patient about the time it takes other nations to change. He says that the people of Portugal, for example, are further away from communism than a year ago, and that the problem is that the military alone still holds the power there.

"There is an unbelievable mixture of political forces there," he said, "and though it may take years for good results, the people must not be given the impression they are left alone."

Paul Wohl writes: The so-called "third basket" of the European security conference agreements is a document of more than 3,000 words, which leaves much to interpretation.

If detente works, the decisions of the conference will be applied in a liberal sense. If not, the decisions will be applied in a restrictive sense. Some of the provisions for detente include rules governing contacts between families and individuals residing in different countries, and the right of recognized religious bodies to maintain contact with one another, to arrange international meetings and to exchange information. This, however, presumably does not apply to such groups in the Soviet Union as the various Baptists, which are not officially registered, and other smaller churches.

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## Sluggish productivity

## West Germany: a little gilt comes off the gingerbread

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The glittering West German economy has lost a little of its shine. The effect, observers here note, is being felt in domestic politics and in European affairs.

This analysis does not mean that Germany faces any kind of economic collapse. This country in fact has weathered the present worldwide recession quite well. But it now is being recognized — painfully — that Germany has become "more like the others."

There is some suspicion, for example, that the workers' real income — which doubled in the last 13 years — will now at best hold steady for several years or even decline because of inflation and slow growth in productivity and profits. As a result, labor politics may well heat up, even though unions here are highly conscientious and responsible.

Cities, states, and the federal government all are borrowing more than their financial experts would like. They talk of a "rapidly deteriorating financial situation."

For example, reporting on a study by his office earlier this month, said that even with an upswing in the economy, the financial situation of the states would not improve because of high commitments to social-security measures (he does not argue against the value of these measures).

Social programs account for 26 percent of the gross national product. Tax increases to support them are taken now for granted, with only the timing a question.

It is generally believed that the government held back its most negative appraisals of the economy until after the last round of state elections in the spring.

In the coming fall round of wage negotiations, however, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt will have to urge the utmost restraint.

The new economic situation likely will be political trouble No. 1 for some time. But present

economic conditions cannot be held at the level of one party. When the Christian Democrats, the current opposition party, were in power in the 1960s, for example, it also backed high wages and higher social programs.

The problem today is at least in part structural one. Some 23 percent of the G.D.P. comes from exports. German workers earn as much as U.S. workers in many ways. Their growth in real income has been more extensive than out of business profits.

High costs and successive upward revisions of the mark have pushed up the price of German exports to a dangerously high level. Exports this year have fallen 18 percent.

The government has taken all of the usual Keynesian steps to shore up the economy. Taxes have been cut by 10 billion and made more progressive. The central bank has increased the money supply and encouraged lower interest rates. Spending has been increased.

Now government spokesman Klaus Kasper says there are plans for a 62 billion mark works construction program this fall.

Over a million are unemployed here. The very is taking longer to come than expected. Germany is under more than just domestic pressure to do well economically.

For a year at least other European nations — especially France — have been watching Germany's economy, the most powerful on the side of the Atlantic — to rev up and help the world.

It has not happened yet. Economists here Hans Friedrichs says Germany now count on zero growth this year at best.

The situation strains relations with many's European Community partners. For a month, for example, there has been unpleasant disagreement about Germany's share of a community nuclear research program, with Germany threatening to cut back its input and European officials crying foul.

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# Asia

## You can't eat politics in Bihar

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Patna, India  
The state of Bihar, an Indian journalist wrote recently, "would seem to represent all of the ills that dog India's development in their acutest form."

"If a breakthrough can be made here, it would probably provide a pattern, not only for the problem-ridden eastern states but also for the rest of the country," the journalist concluded. Many would agree with him.

A considerable number of economic and political analysts are convinced that if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government can even slightly better the lives of the people in problem states such as Bihar, it will go a long way toward justifying to many Indians her assumption of sweeping emergency powers.

For the impoverished masses of Bihar, India's second most populous state, it matters little whether the country adheres to parliamentary democracy or adopts the more authoritarian form of governing Mrs. Gandhi has recently chosen. What matters most is getting enough food to eat, by no means an easy task.

This preoccupation with immediate economic needs was evident in the lack of a strong reaction in Bihar against Mrs. Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency three weeks ago and her crackdown on a number of her political opponents. If any state was expected to react violently, it was Bihar.

The state is the political stronghold of Mrs. Gandhi's most prominent critic, Jaya Prakash Narayan, known popularly by his initials as J. P. It was in Bihar last year that this disciple of Mahatma Gandhi launched an anticorruption campaign which grew into a nationwide movement. Mr. Narayan and a number of his key supporters were arrested after Mrs. Gandhi proclaimed the state of emergency.

But aside from a few abortive attempts at bomb throwing and a few small and isolated demonstrations by student supporters of Mr. Narayan, Bihar has remained relatively quiet. "Everything has been . . . peaceful and orderly," the state's home secretary, R. N. Dash, recently announced with a touch of pride.

"The liberty which has been withdrawn from us only means something to less than 10 percent of the population," said an Indian university professor who specializes in Bihar's economic problems.

"If she (Mrs. Gandhi) sustains this emergency to impose positive economic measures, there will be no opposition to her whatsoever," he said.

But, as anyone here can tell you, Bihar's economic and social problems are enormous.

With a huge population of nearly 60 million people, the state lags behind the rest of India in education and the development of roads and irrigation projects. Government development programs have so far benefited the landowners and rich peasants much more than they have the poor majority. Bihar's per capita income is barely one-third of that of the country as a whole.

Moreover, conditions here are far from ideal. Floods and droughts appear to be recurring. Recurrent floods and droughts have not made life easier.

Nearly 80 percent of the landholdings in Bihar come to fewer than five acres. Yet there are landowners in the northern part of the state who control more than 2,000 acres each.

As part of an emergency economic program announced by Mrs. Gandhi at the beginning of this month, land ceilings are to be imposed and rural debts are to be reviewed, and state governments are to implement already existing provisions for the completion of land records and the distribution of surplus land and house sites for landless laborers and poor farmers more rapidly.



Ancient Chinese warriors and horses: part of a hoard of some 6,000 pottery figures discovered recently in China.

## Where the army helps with the harvest

By Charlotte Sulowski  
Chief editorial writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nanking, China  
What does a Chinese lad want to do most? Get into the Army, of course.

While young people in the West often are turned off on things military, China has no trouble luring volunteers for the People's Liberation Army (PLA) estimated to be 3 million men strong. There apparently are more romances and adventure in Army life than in being sent into the countryside to haul manure and plow paddies.

"Many more youth want to join than we can accept," said Chen Yao-kul, deputy political officer of the 12,000-man 19th Infantry Division. "We take only those who are physically fit, have proven to be good workers, and have a high political consciousness."

Today the PLA appears to be turning its energies more toward being just an army rather than a political watchdog. After the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution the soldiers were sent into the factories, communes, and universities to restore order. They stayed on for years, but evidence grows that they have returned to the barracks as the party has resumed control over the civilian sector.

Occasionally one sees PLA stationed at the entrance to a hotel or a public institution. It is impossible to learn what kind of

military force China is building, for such things are not talked about publicly. But Western scholars think that a debate is still going on between the Maoists, who seek to develop a strong professional army, and the more radical communists who want a "people's army" with strong ideological indoctrination.

The proud 19th, headquartered about 20 miles outside Nanking, seems to be a blend of the two. Visiting American journalists were impressed by the display of fire power put on by crack battalions, who shouted "Kill! Kill!" as they crisply carried out their drills.

At the same time Army routine is heavy with politics. Deputy division commander Li Yuan-hsi said the soldiers spend roughly 70 percent of their time for military training and 30 percent for political study. The goal of the PLA, as he put it, is to be "a fighting force, a productive force, and a propaganda team."

Military training includes such tasks as producing bean curd, raising soybeans, and tending vegetable gardens. Also, every company is assigned to a commune production brigade, and at harvest time soldiers help the peasants bring in the crop.

The "egalitarian" look of the PLA is strange to the Western eye. There are no ranks or insignia. All men wear the same baggy olive-green trousers and jacket, with red patches at the collar and a single five-pointed star on the cap.

The officers mingle and work with recruits, so it's not hard to identify them. "Anybody," commented Chen Yao-kul, "officers have four pockets in their jackets, recruits have only two."

Perhaps more in the Army than anywhere else one observes a wide disparity in pay. A 19-year-old recruit gets six yuan (the month's pocket money the first year and the second year Food, clothing, shelter are free. Officers average between 70 and 80 yuan a month but pay for their food.

Mr. Chen, once a peasant, earns a high wage.

Director Chen's high earnings reflect importance the leadership attaches to indoctrination and Communist Party work of the military. There are party units at all levels, and while the commander of a division is said to be in charge of the combat, even game plans are discussed and approved in the party committee.

The men live in long canvas barracks — four, six, and more by a division — and are furnished with a wooden bed, a stool, and a desk. The barracks are also furnished with a game room where the men can play pool and checkers, study Marxist political theory, and read the stories of such revolutionary leaders as "On the Locks" or "Taking the Winter by Superior Strategy."

## Will China lob missile from Tibet into Indian Ocean?

By Mohan Ram  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
India is not alarmed by China's strategic missile program and the reported location of a missile base in Tibet, because it does not perceive a nuclear threat from China.

Indian experts say the prime consideration of Chinese strategic policy is to deter the Soviet Union, and not India and that it is Peking's commitment to the ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) program that explains location of a base in Tibet.

Western newspapers have been reporting development of a missile base in Tibet, on India's doorstep, since late 1974, and Soviet newspapers have predicted a Chinese ICBM

test over the Indian land mass to the Indian Ocean by this fall.

New Delhi has reacted in low key to both reports.

China is known to have been developing its ICBM program for some time as an integral part of its missile development. In the view of experts, the Chinese ICBM should be fully tested by the end of 1975 and several should have been deployed by 1980.

With an arsenal of short-range tactical and medium- (1,500 miles) and intermediate-range (1,500 to 2,000 miles) missiles as well as multiple-stage intermediate (3,500 miles) missiles already on hand, China is aiming for an ICBM with a range of 6,000 miles.

Lop Nor, in northwestern China, seems to be the most important of Peking's missile bases.

But Lop Nor is not far from the border of the Soviet Union, and while it may be vulnerable to tank attacks or to a possible Soviet strike, once the Chinese ICBM program becomes a reality, Lop Nor becomes a reality, perhaps even becoming a base.

Thus, a base in Tibet not only would be much less vulnerable to a Soviet attack, it also would facilitate the testing of ICBMs. Such tests require safe impact areas for which the Indian or Pacific oceans would prove ideal at a range of up to 6,000 miles. Provision has to be made for fallouts, it would be unsafe to fire them from areas so close to the Indian or Pacific oceans. Tibet is an obvious choice for such a base.

## Soyuz landing 'very soft'

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
It looked like an explosion, as the two Soviet cosmonauts from the Soyuz-Apollo joint space mission touched down in the open space of Kazakhstan in the heartland of Soviet Asia. But as standby joint-flight cosmonaut Nikolai Rukhaviykov explained, it was really a very soft landing.

When only one meter (about three feet) from the earth, the descent module's retro-rockets fired to bring the re-entry fall — already braked by parachute — almost to a halt. The rockets blew up a cloud of dust and flames from the Kazakh steppe.

This was a startling sight for those who were seeing a Soviet space landing live for the first time on TV. But what had happened within that cloud in the final second or so of the descent had in fact brought the module almost to a standstill before touching the earth.

Specialists helped cosmonauts Valeri Kubasov and Alexei Leonov out of the charred spacecraft and embraced them. With no quarantine, Soviet reporters too ran up to the returned spacemen. Kubasov told them: "It was very difficult. Now it's all behind. Glad to be back on the dear earth."

For the Russians, the world's first international manned space flight was over. (The U.S. Apollo remains aloft until Thursday.)

For the first time Soviet citizens got to see a space landing on television — and they got to see it live, from the parachute descent through the helicopter departure of the cosmonauts from the landing site.

For the man in the street, this was the most remarkable break with past Soviet secrecy in the whole joint flight. Launches have been shown on TV before — after missions were finished. But Soviet citizens have never before seen a landing, even as a rerun. Only U.S. NASA officials had seen film of a Soviet touchdown before.

For Americans, used to Apollo splashdowns in water, there was some novelty in the Soyuz landing.

The Soviet and American procedures were



Valeri Kubasov autographs charred spacecraft after he and Alexei Leonov had completed their historic mission.

identical at the beginning, when the first retro-rockets decelerated the speed of the spacecraft below the 17,000 m.p.h. velocity necessary to stay in orbit. And the further decelerations to about sonic speed by air dynamic braking — and to subsonic speed by parachute — were also the same.

But control of the entire Soyuz descent was different from the Apollo descent to come on Thursday. The Apollo will use an on-board

computer that will adjust to different conditions during descent, while the Soyuz used a preset "sequencer," or automatic clock, with no memory or capacity to alter the flight.

The Soyuz disposal of its companion modules also was different from the Apollo plan. The Soviet instrument and orbital modules burned up in the 5-6,000 degree F. temperature of re-entry into the atmosphere. The Apollo will jettison its companion docking

module some hours before its own re-entry and leave that module orbiting the earth with further experiments to track the shape of earth.

The final Soyuz touchdown showed the sharpest difference from Apollo landings. The Soyuz impact at close to zero velocity was far gentler — despite the dust and the flames — than the Apollo 32-33 foot per second plunge into the ocean.

## Soviets hide ambitions behind mask of detente

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science  
Monitor

A leading Soviet ideologist has made it clear that the Kremlin's policy of detente with the West in no way changes the Soviets' long-term goal of world revolution. In fact, the two are closely related.

In a major speech reported by Pravda, senior Politburo member Mikhail A. Suslov hailed what he termed "the further development and deepening of the world revolutionary process." Detente serves the cause of progress (toward socialism) in the whole world, he said.

The speech came only days

before two events highlighting the policy of detente: The spectacular American-Soviet "handshake in space," and the agreement at the European security conference to wind up the conference with a summit meeting at Helsinki at the end of this month.

Speaking from the same rostrum from which Lenin held forth many times, Mr. Suslov spoke highly of the seventh congress of the Communist International, the organization that was to lead a worldwide communist revolution.

It was at the seventh congress in 1935 that a new policy was laid down for

working with "progressive" movements in other countries in a "popular front" to defeat fascism.

Then, as now, said Mr. Suslov, "the countries of the capitalist system were experiencing a deep economic crisis, contradictions inside imperialism were becoming sharper and the class struggle of the proletariat was growing. . . . Fascism throughout the world sought to set up repressive terrorist regimes."

"Things have changed in the past 40 years," said Mr. Suslov. "The parallel can be drawn. He listed five factors which, he said, characterize the world today and point to communism's eventual total victory.

"The successful establishment of a communist society in the Soviet Union.

"The dynamic development of the world socialist system and its influence on world affairs.

"New victories of the international workers and national liberation movements: an antifascist revolution in Portugal, the collapse of the military junta in Greece, the advance of left-wing forces in France, Italy, and Japan; and the broadening of the anti-monopolist offensive leading to a sharpening of the conflict

between wealthy capitalists and the masses.

"The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, a weakening of its position, and a sharpening of its contradictions.

"A relaxation of international tensions.

"There can be no doubt," said Mr. Suslov, "that under conditions of detente and peaceful coexistence it has become less possible for the enemies of the U.S.S.R. to export 'counterrevolution'."

But at this time, an important task of all progressive, democratic forces is to remain alert in the face of imperialist intrigues and its agents. Never forget that the reactionary forces of the 'cold war' are striving as before to aggravate international conditions, to roll back the wheel of history."

"Conditions today . . . favor the establishment of a new society," he said. The realization of the "growing revolutionary possibilities" depends in many ways upon the strengthening and the solidarity of the communist movement and its ability to wield the international and national tasks of the workers into one. Irreversible detente is a precondition for the success of this policy," he said.

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# Soviet Union

## Kremlin sees 'revolutionary potential' in West's militancy

By Paul Wohl  
Written for

The Christian Science Monitor

The Soviet Union's ideologists are showing increasing interest in the "revolutionary potential" of the West's military personnel.

This interest has been spurred by developments in Portugal, where the Communist Party has worked closely with the Armed Forces Movement and where, according to the chief Soviet theoretician, Mikhail A. Suslov, "the military has become a political party."

Moscow's previous time-honored formula for making a revolution has been, at least theoretically, to seek support from the proletariat — the workers and peasants. But recent international developments have led Moscow to declare openly that under certain circumstances, "bourgeois armed forces can become a more effective ally of the Communists than workers and peasants."

An edition of *Pravda*, Lisbon's socialist newspaper which has been closed down and occupied by Communist-led printers and other employees for a month, appeared last month in Paris with what it claimed was information about "top-secret" Soviet instructions to Communist parties on how to seize power in the West.

This summary of the purported instruction

deals with communism's "practical alliance with the armed forces."

It is quite unlikely that such a document was signed by Boris N. Ponomarev, head of the Soviet party's central committee international department, as *Pravda* claims. The Soviets do not operate that way.

[Reuters reports from Paris that French Socialist leader Francois Mitterand doubted the authenticity of the document. "I can't believe that Soviet documents float around like this," he said. "I am inclined to think that the document has no historic reality. Things just don't happen like that."]

In essence, however, the purported "instructions" correspond to communism's new tack. Further endorsement of this policy appeared in a 2,000-word document signed by 24 Latin American Communist parties in Havana June 18.

Three departments of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee are guiding the "fraternal parties" abroad in their attempts to gain a foothold in their countries' armed forces.

Most of the responsibility rests with Mr. Ponomarev as head of the committee's international department, Georgi L. Smirnov, first deputy chief of the Propaganda Department, and General of the Army Alexei A. Yepish-

chev, chief of the Soviet armed forces' political directorate.

Last year Communist parties in the Americas, West Europe, Africa, and Asia were instructed to step up infiltration into the military. In February, 1974, a special conference of the Italian Communist Party was briefed by Senators Ugo Pecchioli and Arrigo Boldrini, the party's military experts.

The conference called for an expansion of party cells in the barracks and in the navy. It also appealed for new methods to win over officers and non-commissioned officers in the same way in which the party, through the trade unions, gained support among the police.

L'Humanite, the large circulation French Communist Party daily, carries at least once a month reports on Communist activity among the military. The West German party is more discreet, but inside the West German forces, too, the Communists have sympathizers. The Spanish party in exile has a strong military nucleus manned by former civil war officers.

The latest issue of *Kommunist* (No. 6), the official journal of the Soviet Communist Party's central committee, has given the new line its theoretical underpinning: "Developments in certain countries (for instance, Portugal, Peru, and others) show a mutual relationship between the proletarian van-



Mikhail Suslov: top ideologue

guard (meaning the Communists) of the armed forces, whose composition is what is going on in society," the journal says. "Progressive organizations, among the Communists, see in a close alliance with the military men... a path to a further strengthening of the new general democratic struggle and the formation of society."

## Soviets pledge oil to East bloc

By Eric Bourne  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna — The East Europeans will get more Russian oil and the Soviets will receive more support from their allies in investments to open up new Russian raw-material resources.

These were the main results of a recent summit meeting of the East bloc's trading community, COMECON. Attending were prime ministers from all the European members, senior officials from Cuba and Mongolia, and an associate member from Yugoslavia.

Premier Alexei N. Kosygin gave a Soviet promise of increased oil shipments to its allies. He said the Soviet Union was undertaking structural changes in its own economy in order to ensure the East Europeans' energy and raw material requirements on a long-term basis and immediately for the 1976-80 period.

He gave no indication of what direction these changes might take. Nor did the final communiqué reveal what further action — if any — was taken on such pressing questions as the community's future trade pricing or the greater ruble convertibility in intra-COMECON trade, which some of the East Europeans are extremely anxious to see.

Both stood high in the main business before this meeting of the COMECON Council — coordination of member states' next five-year plans which already has been much delayed by effects of the world energy crisis and inflation; and for the East Europeans especially, the adjustments and cutbacks necessitated by the large price increase for Soviet oil in operation since early this year.

However, the final communiqué only outlined broad goals and disclosed little that was new. It included:

• Approval of a 15-year program to develop new energy and raw material resources in the Soviet Union, with an emphasis on fuel and energy and a key role for expansion of atomic power.

• Similar long-term planning and coordination to expand and ensure supplies of food, fuels and consumer goods.

The Soviets disclosed a big investment program planned jointly with the East Europeans to develop raw materials and energy, including the new 1,700-mile liquefied-gas pipeline from Orenburg in the southern Ural to East and West Europe.

All the East Europeans are contributing finance, engineering, or manpower to the overall project, including an apparent share in finance and construction of a unified power

grid network serving much of Eastern Europe.

East European countries like Hungary, most seriously hit by the new terms of trade, welcome this limited and gradual integration as programmed by COMECON in 1971.

But Romania is reluctant and again opposes what it sees as a new trend toward a supranational blueprint for the whole area. It wants to be free to participate without tying its hands or resources toward non-Communist areas.

The final communiqué omitted mention of the question, suggesting it is still open for other East Europeans besides the Romanians.

## Hotel 'colonialism'

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow — A tough statement by the head of the Soviet tourist agency Intourist, accusing Western hotel chains of making "colonialist" demands, has Westerners skeptical about Moscow's being ready in time to host the Olympic Games here in 1980.

An agreement in principle initiated a year ago has never been implemented. Under it a Pan American subsidiary, Intercontinental Hotels Corporation, and the Swedish Skanska Cementgjuteriet were to construct three hotels, one each in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev.

The negotiations have stalled over the stipulation of the hotel chains that they should share in the profits and management.

The Soviet Union maintains that foreign participation in running Soviet hotels would constitute interference in Soviet internal affairs.

Conditions, which seem to be drawn from the arsenal of an obsolete colonialism," Sergei Nikitin, head of Intourist, said in an interview published by last week's *Literary Gazette*.

The Western hotel chains, which routinely have such arrangements in other countries, including communist Hungary, say they are not construction companies and are not interested in simply erecting a building and then leaving. They say further that if hotels bear their name they want enough management rights to ensure that service is up to their standards. Service in Soviet hotels is notoriously poor.

The Soviet Union, despite its acute shortage of hotel space, is not itself currently constructing any new hotels, according to public Soviet statements. In his interview, however, Mr. Nikitin promised that 20,000 more hotel beds would be available in Moscow by 1980.

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## Torrid Aden looks forward to the good old days

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon — Reopening of the Suez Canal has been the best news in years for the impoverished Yemen People's Democratic Republic (South Yemen).

The 1,805,000 people on the 111,074 square miles of the republic, down in the torrid southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula facing Africa, live mainly from subsistence agriculture and the trade passing through the big port of Aden.

Decline in the use of Aden by world shipping following closure of the Suez Canal in 1967 stunted Aden's economic growth, just at the moment it was winning independence (November, 1967) from Britain.

In 1968, bunkering — providing of fuel and services to transient ships — accounted for nearly one-third of South Yemen's exports. With the canal's closing this dropped to less than 7 percent by 1970.

Trade through Aden port dropped by 75 percent because passenger liners bound to and from Australia and the Far East, as well as the East African lines, no longer called to let their passengers and crews shop in the duty-free Aden shops.

Transit trade with the neighboring Yemen Republic (North Yemen), which usually passed through Aden, also dropped off sharply because of development of the North Yemeni harbor at Hodeida.

Djibouti, the capital of the French Territory of the Afars and Issas (formerly French Somaliland) on the African coast opposite Aden, has traditionally been a strong commercial rival. The Suez Canal's reopening has aroused hopes of new prosperity there. But political turmoil arising from Somali pressure and agitation for independence may impair Djibouti's efficiency.

Youssef Ali, an Aden port authority official, announced last May that Aden would totally renovate its port in anticipation of a revival of traffic, but would not raise anchorage fees, which are still the same as in 1967.

Tugs and pilot-boats were on order, and a 100-ton crane and other heavy equipment had already arrived and were ready for use. Luxury goods long unseen in the austere, socialist state would be imported and put on sale in special shopping centers for visiting passengers and crew.

A free-trade zone opened in Aden harbor in 1971 is being expanded to cover an area of about 23 acres. The harbor now can accommodate 120,000-ton ships with a 49-foot draught, much larger than those initially using the Suez Canal.

A number of world shipping lines have announced their intention to use Aden again. Mr. Ali said he expected active interport (transit) trade, and the South Yemen government believed that expansion of the free zone and free markets would increase trading.

The government had begun preparing new tourist traffic by improving and renovating hotels and places of entertainment. Tourist facilities such as beaches and cafes would be built on the coast and islands off Aden for the exclusive use of passengers and crew.

A joint full-scale study of Aden's future growth is under way for the South Yemen Government by two British firms, Coode & Partners and Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., which recently carried out similar investigations of the Lebanese ports of Beirut and Tripoli.

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development is financing the study, which is due for completion this month. It will examine in detail Aden's general facilities and maximum cargo handling capacity, and how they can be improved and extended to accommodate the rising demands of the next 15 years.



Debris of war: rusting remains of a Soviet rocket launcher and military vehicles east of Sinai's Mitla Pass

## Syria hungry for U.S. trade and technology

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus, Syria — Since last November, the United States has signed several little-publicized but highly significant economic agreements with Syria.

As described by U.S. Ambassador to Syria Richard Murphy to U.S. and Mideast businessmen last May, they look like this:

First came a \$22.5 million Public Law 480 loan agreement for sale to Syria of American wheat and rice. Next there was a U.S. loan for \$20 million to finance Syrian purchases of American agricultural equipment and other items related to modernization of agriculture.

"The Syrian ministers of agriculture, planning, and economy," Mr. Murphy said, "are now identifying the types of commodities desired under this loan and are putting emphasis on equipment for the planting, harvesting, and processing of forage and fodder in northeast Syria."

"This loan may have to be increased to finance the needed equipment and also to expand the types of commodities in order to include the machinery necessary for land reclamation and irrigation in several areas, particularly the Euphrates Basin now that the Euphrates Dam has been completed."

A grant for \$4 million provides for technical

advice and consultants from the United States, probably in agriculture and mining, which are priority sectors for the Syrians.

Another agreement provides \$1 million for training of Syrians in the U.S., in fields to be chosen by the Syrian Government, probably connected with economic development.

"Even before signature," Ambassador Murphy recalled, "we were able to send four Syrian experts to the United States for six weeks study of earth resources satellite technology and application of that new science to the development of Syria's mineral wealth, agricultural, and water resources."

In June and July of this year, U.S. congressmen urged that U.S. aid to Syria be blocked until the Damascus government liberalized its policies on emigration of Syrian Jews, about 4,500 of whom remain in the country. The U.S. administration argued against such restrictions and contended that Syria had eased controls on its Jewish minority recently. Administration sources believed planned 1976 expenditures of about \$68 million for aid to Syria would be approved.

This year's Syrian budget of more than \$2.8 billion is the largest ever, and over half will be invested in development. Of the \$1.6 billion for development, industry and mining get \$884 million, agriculture and land reclamation

(\$324 million) and communications and public works (\$229 million).

In the industrial and mining sectors, oil investment alone is budgeted for nearly \$200 million, just below the \$300 invested in industry. Despite the continued high burdens of defense, the new five-year development plan (1976-80) is to stress productive sectors of the economy, through sales of more highly processed exports or import substitution.

The United States was fast off the mark after restoration of diplomatic relations by assembling in less than two months a highly successful U.S. exhibition at the September, 1974, Damascus International Trade Fair. Ambassador Murphy recalled that "over half a million visitors nearly burst the seams of our exhibition in an effort to respond to the pent-up Syrian desire for more information about American goods, technology, and achievements."

For this summer's fair, a big exhibition design and construction firm prepared a 1,000-square-meter U.S. pavilion, double the space of last year's pavilion.

Mr. Murphy noted, "Our welcome back to Damascus has been a warm one, and we have certainly seen the welcome mat put out for American visitors. . . . I believe you will soon see a growing resident American business community in Syria."

## Abu Dhabi dispenses largesse to 'third world' needy

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon — Abu Dhabi, the largest member of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), plans to join Kuwait and other Persian Gulf states as a major donor of development aid to poor "third world" countries.

In June the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development began aid to non-Arab third-world countries by loaning about \$160 million to Bangladesh.

It may soon extend aid to non-Arab African states as well. The Bangladesh loan is for development of a machine-tools factory for the country's basic industries.

Arab recipients of new Abu Dhabi Fund loans in June included Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Sudan, Tunisia, Jordan, North Yemen, Morocco, and Mauritania.

In its new loans policy Abu Dhabi is following the example already set by the 12-year-old Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED).

Since its foundation, KFAED has loaned \$466 million for specific, carefully studied development projects in nearly all of the Arab states, but mainly Egypt, the Sudan, and Tunisia.

Abdel Latif al-Hamad, director-general of KFAED, says Arab aid to the third world totaled \$14 billion in 1974, with Kuwait the top

donor: it gave 7 to 8 percent, according to Mr. Hamad. This year KFAED is branching out into aid to non-Arab states as well and has increased its capital to about \$4 billion.

What Abu Dhabi plans is to send delegations to a number of third-world states to assess their development needs and see how the fund may help. Malaysia was one of the first countries visited.

The Abu Dhabi ruler and UAE federal president, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan, Abu Dhabi, has already given 40 percent of its gross national product (GNP) in aid, especially in both India and Pakistan where it is financing joint projects, and will soon do so in Bangladesh.

Interest in internal investment is running high. The recently established UAE Development Fund may become the main support of the private sector in the union. It would grant loans at a nominal interest rate of 1.5 to 2 percent, described as an "administrative fee," for housing and industrial schemes in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and other parts of the Union.

This is similar to the Saudi Industrial Development Fund, which offers up to 50 percent of the capital investment in a project even if there is a foreign partner, on similar easy terms.

Some of the other institutions set up by rich Arab-oil states and some non-Arab members of OPEC (Organization of Oil Exporting

Countries) to help poor — and oil-poor — countries are:

• The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (capital \$340 million). A variant on the original KFAED, headed by Saeb Jaraoui, former chief economist of the KFAED. The fund is based in Kuwait, but all Arab states are supposed to contribute. Has already helped Somalia, Mauritania, and is considering loans to several other African states.

• The Islamic Development Bank (capital \$600 million). The late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia inspired this. King Khaled is continuing its work. Main contributors are Saudi Arabia (\$240 million), Libya (\$150 million), and the UAE (\$120 million). Main beneficiaries so far are Pakistan, Bangladesh, and reportedly Nigeria.

• The Special Arab Fund for Africa (capital \$200 million). Has helped a number of Arab countries, especially in drought relief. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya are main contributors.

• The African Development Bank (capital \$200 million). Nigeria and Libya have made the main contributions, over \$40 million each, with Algeria coming in strong with more than \$20 million recently.

Iran and Venezuela each provide development aid in multibillion-dollar amounts to their close friends and neighbors.



# Africa

## Amin: it's all smiles now

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Uganda's President Idi Amin is playing the role of statesman and good-humored leader as he prepares to act as host to the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in his capital of Kampala next week-end.

In accordance with custom the leader of the host country at an OAU summit becomes the organization's chairman for the ensuing year. Many had questioned General Amin's holding of the chairmanship after the worldwide unfavorable reaction to his recent threat to execute British lecturer Denis Hills for slandering him. Mr. Hills was eventually pardoned and freed, and General Amin seems to have had his eye since on his image in his prospective OAU role.

At the Kampala meeting of OAU foreign ministers drawing up an agenda for the summit, President Amin spoke out last week on two of the topics certain to be discussed when the heads of government gather: (1) black Africa's relations with South Africa; and (2) the fighting between rival African nationalist groups in Angola, the Portuguese territory scheduled for independence this coming November.

On South Africa, General Amin criticized those black African states that have responded favorably to white-run South Africa's efforts to establish a dialogue with independent black African states. This South African policy, he said, was "deadly poison."

The hard-liners who share the Amin view mustered enough support at the foreign ministers' meeting to get put on the agenda for the summit an item headed "the international status of South Africa." It was originally proposed by Uganda. Peter Onu, Nigerian Assistant Secretary General of OAU, said acceptance of the item by the summit would lead to a debate on whether South Africa is an illegal colony or a lawful independent republic on the African continent.

On Angola, General Amin said it would be a welcome idea if the OAU decided to send troops to Angola to keep peace and order until the rival African movements there found some way to live together.

The three main African organizations in Angola are: the Marxist-inclined and Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto; the Chinese and Zaire-backed Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto; and the Union for the Total



Just one of the boys?

Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi.

MPLA and FNLA are locked in a bitter and violent feud for control of Angola when the Portuguese depart. Both movements are well armed. UNITA is not well armed and has sought to keep out of the struggle between the other two organizations and to encourage reconciliation between them.

So intractable seems the rift between MPLA and FNLA that a senior Portuguese official in Luanda, the Angolan capital, told the Associated Press Saturday that if the opposing factions do not come to terms, Portugal may have to postpone granting the territory independence on Nov. 11.

If it came to this, it would represent a setback both for the Portuguese military in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) now running Portugal and for the cause of African nationalism generally (for which the OAU is channel and champion). For the Portuguese MFA, it would mean delay in unloading the burden of colonial overlordship of which the new Portugal wants urgently to free itself. For the OAU, it would mean public admission that black Africans cannot unite to take over

from white colonial rulers even when the colonial rulers are in a hurry to leave and have fixed a date.

A potentially and equally divisive situation exists in another territory in southern Africa where the OAU is impatient to see the end of white-minority rule -- but where the white minority is not yet so ready for a transfer of power to blacks as are the Portuguese in Angola. This territory is Rhodesia, where the feuding rivals for eventual black control are: the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole; and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo.

Since late last year ZANU and ZAPU -- on outside African urging -- have supposedly merged their differences and been operating under the umbrella of the African National Council, whose neutral chairman is Bishop Abel Muzorewa. One of the intentions behind this was to facilitate negotiations between Rhodesian Africans and the white-led minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith for constitutional changes in the Africans' favor. But continued ZANU ZAPU strife has helped Mr. Smith temporize.

## Bourguiba's would-be successors wait in the wings

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba surprised many by bouncing back from health problems a few years ago very much in charge. He cannot even remember last year when he had declared President for life. But with proven able at his side, Mr. Bourguiba has persuaded most Tunisians that the option for the time being is to keep them as they are.

This does not prevent speculation about the eventual succession when Mr. Bourguiba -- a septuagenarian taking control -- is no longer on the scene.

Constitutionally, should the president die or become ill, it passes to his deputy, Mr. Moncef Marzouki, a minister. The present holder of the office is Hedi Nouri, a skillful but economist who has grown nationally since Mr. Bourguiba installed him as minister in 1970.

Mr. Nouri now has sufficiently established himself with public opinion here to increase the likelihood of his being taken over without challenge.

But living in exile are two men, holders of ministerial office, who have not of Mr. Bourguiba and could come try to take advantage of any uncertainty. Mr. Bourguiba passes from the scene. Ahmed ben Salah, has ties with President Houmedine, the other, is a Muslim candidate.

Tunisians occasionally have uneasiness about the intentions toward of Algeria and Libya, their two neighbors. In this context, Mr. ben Salah is referred to as "the Algerian candidate," Mr. Moncef as "the Libyan candidate."

Mr. ben Salah came to grief with Bourguiba in the late 1960s after the introduction of a farm cooperative program (which Mr. ben Salah had introduced as minister of economy and planning) produced a fierce backlash from the conservative rural population. In the meantime, Mr. ben Salah had been expelled from Algeria where President Boumedienne shares some of his views. Mr. ben Salah was subsequently arrested, tried for treason, jailed, but he later escaped and crossed the border into Algeria. He now lives in the capital, Algiers.

Mr. Moncef was foreign minister in January of last year. Mr. Bourguiba dismissed him for pushing the idea of a plan for a merger of Tunisia and Libya, which the initiative had come from Mr. leader Qaddafi. Mr. Moncef was then in France, where he was seen by Tunisian ambassador. Reports put out while Tunisian allege that he has not been able to secure financial gain as a middleman in trade between France and Libya.

There are two younger men, both of official positions and therefore enjoying confidence of Mr. Bourguiba, who are suggested as worth watching as potential "young Turks" likely to rise to the top as the changing of the guard which has been suggested by Mr. Bourguiba. The younger men are Mr. Bourguiba's son, Mr. Bechir Bourguiba, and Mr. Tahar Ben Abdellah, director of the interior. Both men are in the early 40s.

Mr. Bechir was a Marxist in his student days and he has critics who are concerned that he is too radical. His position in the party is not clear. Mr. Tahar Ben Abdellah, who gives him a lead in the party, already gives him great power. But as Mr. Bechir's position gives him power, Mr. Tahar's position gives him power. Mr. Bechir's position gives him power. Mr. Tahar's position gives him power.

# United States

## Americans want gun ownership to be controlled

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Efforts to get control of an estimated 40 million American handguns move to new ground:

1. A new Gallup Poll indicates that even those families who have a firearm at home (44 percent of the total) favor gun registration.
2. Other opinion polls indicate 75 percent of the public favors handgun control. The people, the polls suggest, appear to be ahead both of Congress and President.
3. More than a quarter of the members of the House of Representatives own handguns, according to a Washington Post survey, and a

substantial majority opposes strict curtailment.

4. President Ford has said he was "unilaterally opposed" to registration of handguns, but is moving to limit the traffic in cheap, snub-nosed, poorly constructed, so-called "Saturday-night specials."

5. The United States is the only industrial nation permitting private ownership without licensing, with 2½ million handguns added to the armory yearly, and a handgun death every hour.

A strong lobby of sportsmen and manufacturers, led by the National Rifle Association, opposes firearms registration. Opponents fear that licensing would lead to outright prohibition.

The Ford administration is reportedly preparing a bill to license gun dealers, not guns, hoping to reduce an estimated 156,000 dealers to 40,000.

A series of federal crime commissions going back many years link America's murder rate to widespread dissemination of firearms.

Spurred by the public, Congress passed the Gun Control Act of 1968 which banned import of small (barrels less than three inches long) cheap handguns. The House subcommittee on crime says the law failed completely.

The subcommittee defines "Saturday-night specials" as guns costing less than \$50, of .32 caliber or less, with a barrel under three inches long. Some towns and cities have banned guns of this description.

But since the 1968 law, handgun parts were shipped to the United States and assembled here. Washington licenses 320 firearms manufacturers; about 37 handgun manufacturers have started business since Congress shut off foreign imports, 22 of which in 1974 devoted more than half of their production to guns that would be illegal as imports. This puts a made-in-America stamp on such weapons.

Forty or more gun-control bills now pend in Congress, but the anti-registration lobby is so well financed and organized, and the American gun-ownership tradition so strong, that the result is uncertain, particularly with President Ford's strong opposition.

Former Attorneys General John N. Mitchell and William B. Saxbe both opposed gun registration, and Edward H. Levi, present Attorney General, favors other control methods.

At New Haven, Connecticut, April 25, President Ford said that "if a gun was involved," in a violent crime, he favored mandatory prison sentences. Now, apparently, he is moving in a new direction.

Gun retailers now are federally licensed, but these licenses are issued automatically; the administration proposal would limit the numbers and would apply more restrictions.

A majority of people have favored tougher gun control for "over three decades" in every poll it has ever taken, the Gallup organization says. The normal percentage is about 71 to 75 with 4 having no opinion.

## Good ideas are worth repeating.

Six outstanding series which appeared in The Christian Science Monitor are available in compact booklets to add to your library or to give someone. They also are excellent as reference material for schools.

"Getting the Most Out of Our Schools" by Kenneth Gehret  
Imaginative but practical ways to stretch the school budget.

"Safe Streets: Solutions in Sight" by Guy Halverson  
How individuals on every level are tackling causes of crime.

"Land in Jeopardy" by Robert Cahn  
Defines abuses by land developers and presents some solutions.

"The Liquor Industry—How Much Responsibility?" by Guy Halverson  
The industry's role in treating the human and social costs of drinking.

"Where Do We Grow from Here?" by Robert Cahn  
Examines attitudes and practices in urban growth and land use.

"As Others See Us" by Steven Silha  
Two correspondents from Russia and one from America describe their impressions of each other's country and people.

Also in reprint, in an eight-page broadsheet newspaper size, is the following special section of interest to anyone who'll be working 10 years from now:

"Careers for the 1990's" by Steven Silha  
Examines the future in light of current changes which will affect the working life of most of us.

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## U.S. spells out policy on South-West Africa

By Henry S. Hayward

Windhoek, South-West Africa  
The United States has made no secret of its official disapproval of South Africa retaining control of this vast, sparsely populated, mineral-rich territory, now known in the outside world as Namibia.

U.S. Secretary of State for African Affairs, Nathaniel Davis spelled out American policy in a report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington recently. The full text of the Davis report was printed in the English-language newspaper here.

Among the basic features were these:  
• All Namibians should be given a chance to express their views freely and under United Nations supervision on their political future and the constitutional structure of the territory.

South African officials in Pretoria and elsewhere are moving in that direction, although not under United Nations supervision.

• All Namibian political groups should be allowed to indulge in peaceful political activity without interference in the quest for self-determination.

• The government contends that existing black political parties here are diverse and have little popular support. It keeps them under tight control as far as demonstrations and political activity are concerned on grounds these often threaten public order.

• South-West Africa should not be divided along separate black and white lines, as Pretoria's apartheid policy requires, but should be able to map out its future by freely expressed choice of its people.

This gets to the heart of the matter. Some liberal whites here might be prepared to

accept an end to apartheid and black majority rule so long as the white man's rights also were protected.

Other whites, however, would resist such provisions strongly, at least partly on grounds the blacks are unworthy to control Namibia.

The government appears to stand somewhere in between. It is anxious to see a constitutional settlement worked out that will satisfy all races, in so far as that is possible. But it is by no means ready to capitulate to all local black and outside demands.

Mr. Davis declared pointedly in his report that the U.S. Government was "disappointed at the pace of movement toward genuine self-determination" for South-West Africa.

He added that the U.S. condemns South Africa's "continued and illegal occupation" of the territory but feels the best way to bring about change is through continued efforts at negotiation with South Africa.



Coleman — new ways to integrate

anteo property values when a community becomes integrated.

Residential integration, Dr. Coleman says, was a "slow process, not an instant one." He suggests the creation of new cities such as Columbia, Maryland, or the rehabilitation of communities of older cities such as Hyde Park in Chicago, on the South Side near the University of Chicago.

He supports such ideas as magnet schools, test schools, and other approaches. He would like to see metropolitan school systems, but opposes court orders to achieve them.

"High-income whites would merely go to private schools," he said. "And that is what happens with court-ordered desegregation, too. Whites who can move leave the city or send their children to private schools. This leaves the schools to poor people, who are mostly black, in the cities."

Desegregation is working in most of the nation's smaller cities, and white population is stable, says Dr. Coleman. On the other hand, he said of Boston, only 17 percent black in total population; "Even if there is no forced school desegregation, the loss of whites would make city schools 90 percent black by the year 2008."

## U.S. Air Force to increase European training flights

By the Associated Press

Washington  
The Air Force says more than 180 jet fighters and fighter-bombers will make training flights to Europe during the coming year.

These will be the first extensive air exercises to Europe since the Vietnam war. Such exercises were sharply limited during the war because U.S. tactical air power was heavily concentrated in Southeast Asia.

• Inter-marriages, "the best way to bring integration. There will be automatic activities designed to create more interracial harmony. Certainly, many people will oppose mixed marriage; but it is not the business of the third party to oppose a voluntary arrangement between two people."

• Summer camps, "would bring teenagers of both races together, and they would learn to know and understand each other better."

• Federal property insurance "would guar-







From page 1

## \*Extremists in Britain

The dim, dusty Communist Party of Great Britain is the last place to look for extremists. Its conservatively inclined leadership does not really approve of revolution any more, because it would upset the understandings Moscow has now reached with the Establishments of the world. It is precisely this conservatism which has driven disappointed radicals into forming their own "do-it-yourself" revolutionary cells.

For many of them the next move is to attempt to take over some respectable working-class organization with democratic credentials: trade union branches, or constituency branches of the Labour Party. British employers are now familiar with the educated young man who comes asking for lowly employment in the factory. He may be a dropout from the bourgeois rat-race, seeking brotherhood with the working class; but he may also be an International Socialist seeking to start a wildcat strike that will give him leadership of the union branch.

Members of the Newham Northeast Labour Party, in East London, have been among those exposed to another kind of takeover attempt. It began when 35-year-old Tony Kelly moved into the borough and offered to do any unpopular chore that was going in the party offices. In less than two years he held four different posts and was steering a campaign to throw out the constituency's Member of Parliament, even though he carried the Labour banner to victory last October with more than twice as many votes as the Conservative runner-up.

It may be worth noting that bottom of the poll on that occasion came actress Vanessa Redgrave, representing the Workers Revolutionary Party.

More important than that, the M.P. Tony Kelly has been trying to squeeze out is Mr. Reginald Prentice, a member of the cabinet. And Mr. Prentice might almost be described as an extreme moderate; who has not hesitated in the past to speak out against the leftists in the party — some of them high up among his colleagues.

Since 1973, at least three Labour M.P.s have lost their nominations to extremist coups like that being mounted against Mr. Prentice. According to one estimate, 30 more may be in danger today.

There was a time when Labour Party headquarters would have dissolved any branch that allowed its M.P. to be "liquidated" in this way. There used to be a list of some 50 far-left organizations with which Labour supporters were not allowed to become affiliated. This helped to exclude the raiders. But in 1973, the list was abolished.

Moderates claim that the revolutionaries have been squeezing in ever since.

Their job has been all too easy. A constituency Labour Party might have a thousand subscription-paying members, but with the counteraction of television at home, fewer than 50 probably attend meetings and none of them wants to be secretary or treasurer. Half a dozen Trotskyists get together (some of them may be from outside the area, using local accommodation addresses) and through willingness, hard work and persistence they take over the wards, the management committee, and ultimately the endorsement of parliamentary candidate.

Their noisiness and insensitivity to other points of view drives away the old moderates, and the revolutionaries are then free to start undermining the sitting member and introducing one of their own. The established man may be accused of failing to support imprisoned leftist "heroes," of voting (like the majority of Britons) in favour of the Common Market, and of being "arrogant, elitist and isolated."

What this usually means is that the MP has refused to be pestered night and day by rowdy delegations, many of whom are not even his voters.

But now, following the disclosures about Mr. Prentice, worms are beginning to turn. Other members have been admitting similar troubles, and their group at Westminster has raised more than 180 M.P.s' signatures to a letter calling on Newham to leave Mr. Prentice where he is.

Outside Parliament a new Social Democratic Federation has been formed to reinvigorate Labour Party moderates, and the Tory leader — Mrs. Margaret Thatcher — has been drawing more and more attention to leftist influence over the government, something toward which the Tories have been curiously tender for a long time.

Meanwhile the press have been looking into the background of Tony Kelly, a background which he insists is "not relevant" to his case against Mr. Prentice. "My past history," he told reporters, "is of no political significance."

It seems to have been of some significance to somebody, though; for what has followed has been a series of allegations about past offences which led Mr. Kelly to give instructions for a writ against two newspapers, and the appearance of some court officers from Yorkshire trying to serve a warrant for the maintenance of a wife and four children.

How much good this would do Mr. Prentice, it was hard to say. Some Kelly supporters were claiming that "smear tactics" would boomerang against the sitting member. But at least it was significant that for once the anti-leftists had been fighting back.

## Ted Heath's finest hour

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Former Prime Minister Edward Heath won an ovation in the House of Commons for a speech supporting the Labour government's anti-inflation policy and saying that everyday Britons would respond if they were told exactly what the situation was and what it required of them.

Mr. Heath spoke during a two-day debate last week on the government's white paper proposing a £8-a-week (\$13) limit on pay increases in order to curb a 26-percent-a-year inflation rate. His speech was widely considered one of the finest heard in the House of Commons since World War II, and brought cheers from both Labour and Conservative sides of the Commons.

The government received a comfortable majority of 208 for the white paper. The Conservatives, including Mr. Heath, abstained, while 34 Labour left-wingers voted against the government.

Employment Secretary Michael Foot, a left-winger, was placed in the uncomfortable position of having to imply that he would resign if the government published legislation it is preparing to give teeth to its anti-inflation policy.

Mr. Heath's speech transcended both the quarrels within the Labour Party and the partisan attacks of his own Conservative Party on the white paper.

Speaking entirely without notes for half an hour, he noted that the anti-inflation policy requires national consent — a consent much

wider than unions and management — if it is to succeed. The consent should be based on knowledge of the hard facts of the situation; that prices will continue to rise for a period even if everyone accepts a £8-a-week limit on pay increases; that unemployment also will rise; and that people will suffer a substantial, 5-to-10 percent cut in their standard of living.

To get these points across was a matter of communication — "and who am I to speak of communication?" Mr. Heath asked. It was a warm and intimate moment for the House, along with the laughter, there was appreciation for a man who, having lost high office, could afford to relax and look at his own failings in perspective.

Mr. Heath wound up with a plea to lift the economic debate to a level at which people could see that their whole future was at stake, and that they would have to bear heavy sacrifices "until it was possible to start moving forward again." As he finished, members rushed over to him from both sides of the House, congratulating him and patting him on the back. Among them was Labour's Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey.

The Heath performance inevitably aroused new speculation that he may be preparing a bid to head a coalition government or to regain the Conservative Party leadership from Margaret Thatcher. Mr. Heath denied such ambitions, saying in a radio interview that he had promised to speak out on the great issues of the day and that that was exactly what he was doing. It was only the second time he has spoken in the House since losing the Opposition leadership to Mrs. Thatcher in February.

From page 1

## \*Gains from Helsinki summit

And Washington also points to the so-called third basket of agreements to be signed, which indicated international standards for human contacts across the Iron Curtain, for educational and cultural exchanges, and for the free flow of information generally.

The Soviets do not like the "third basket" but have gradually come to accept language that the West interprets to mean freer emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, and a method of blocking arbitrary expulsion of Western journalists.

What all of this may mean in practice no one can predict.

Many Westerners are encouraged, however, by the provision for a follow-up conference to check on implementation in 1977. They think it may give substance and durability to détente.

U.S. officials say they do not see that the agreement borders being inviolable means what the Soviets say it means.

Yet for Moscow, despite concession, Hel-

sinki represents a long-awaited substitute for a peace treaty in Europe ending World War II. Party leader Leonid Brezhnev has repeatedly indicated his intense desire to conclude the Helsinki agreements.

Washington does face a moral dilemma, however, observers believe. After World War II, Moscow incorporated the three Baltic states, the Finnish province of Karelia, the eastern parts of East Prussia and Poland; Rumania, formerly part of Czechoslovakia; and the Bessarabian province of Rumania.

What the State Department is saying, in response to intense pressure from the Baltic state representatives, is that U.S. policy not to recognize the annexation of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union remains unchanged. Although this annexation has been consecrated by 35 years of practice the diplomats representing Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania remain listed in the blue book of recognized Washington diplomats.

From page 1

## \*Europe gets in on space shuttle

However, Europe's space programs have had a checkered history.

The European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO), established in the early 1960s, has had so many failures that the British, who are primarily responsible for its establishment, pulled out in 1964. Since then the French have carried on rocket research by themselves.

Springing from academic roots in 1964, a second European organization, European Space Research Organization (ESRO), had a number of initial problems; also, Scientific

For a number of years there has been a push for a single, unified European space organization. A month ago this goal was realized when a convention reorganizing ESRO and ELDO into the European Space Agency was agreed upon.

## Darwin still lies in ruins

By Ann Miller  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nearly seven months after Cyclone Tracy struck last Christmas Eve, Darwin looks like a vast trailer park.

The important northern city, once the home of 48,000 persons, still is substantially in ruins. Many of those residents who chose to return after the worst storm ever recorded there are camping out next to the shells of their former homes. And this is a matter of serious concern because the peak of the rainy season is expected again in five months.

After the cyclone, relief operations under Maj. Gen. Alan B. Stretton, director of the Australian Natural Disasters Organization, quickly had the city back on its feet — if tottering. General Stretton reported at the time:

"Within 5½ days, and without any further loss of life, the citizens of Darwin, supported by the rest of Australia, restored the essential elements of the city, reduced the population to a safe level by evacuating 35,000 people, and started planning the rebuilding of their city."

But that planning has taken longer than

many hoped it would. Not counting disenchantment with the federal bureaucracy in Canberra ("People are fed up with waiting for houses," says Dr. Ella Slack, Darwin's Lord Mayor), there have been several problems:

• Darwinites have swarmed back. By the end of 1975 it had been expected that the population would be 25,000. But despite the lack of amenities and the high cost of living, Darwin already numbers well over 32,000.

• Conflict between those who want to see the old Darwin resurrected and those who see an opportunity to build a whole new, and better, city.

• Housing. After Cyclone Tracy only 500 houses were habitable out of the former total of 12,000. A "cyclone proof" house was designed to protect against any more such destruction by a future cyclone. Initially, 1,300 of the new houses were ordered, but by next Christmas only 100 are expected to be ready.

In the meantime, the design has been found too costly to continue, so a "partially" cyclone-proof house is to replace it. Even so, it will be well into 1976 before any of these are standing in Darwin.

As a temporary measure, large numbers of relocatable steel houses are being imported — and many more trailers.

## CITY SHOPPING GUIDE

africa	cape province	british isles	europa	denmark	switzerland
republic of south africa	CAPE TOWN	england	denmark	COPENHAGEN	BIEL-BIENNE
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From page 1

## \*Ford sees light on the Middle-East horizon

into past activities, Mr. Ford said the fear was "great" and the apprehension "serious."

"There is some evidence of it," he said. "There is a fear that it will grow." So far, he said, the Senate probe had not been "harmful."

On the Mideast, Mr. Ford said Moscow had not "raised any great problems as we have sought to bring Egypt and Israel together. They have therefore in my judgement been helpful."

He denied that his decision to sign the European Security Conference agreements in Helsinki July 30 was conditional on Soviet concessions on the Mideast.

"There was a 'black danger' of war in the Mideast, for us to assume that war won't come if there is no movement... would be very very ill advised."

On oil and the U.S. economy, Mr. Ford said that the U.S. was importing more and more oil from OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and that it was "almost inevitable" that the U.S. would import even more as the economy picked up.

He said his prediction a month ago that the slump in the economy had "bottomed out" had been proven correct. The danger of

hurting the recovery because of vast government borrowing had diminished.

On foreign affairs, Mr. Ford:

• Rebutted allegations that Moscow stood to gain more from the Helsinki summit of 35 nations (to affirm border changes in Europe arising from World War II) than Washington. "I certainly can't see some of the Western European countries, with their own concerns, making any compromises that would undercut their position in Western Europe," he said.

• Said his presence in Helsinki "has a relationship to détente" and would allow him to talk with Soviet Party Leader Leonid I. Brezhnev on such matters as limiting strategic nuclear arms.

• Said that while the Soviet Union did on one occasion turn on a "radar or the technical equipment," and the U.S. queried it, in general Moscow had not violated the unilateral declarations of the SALT I agreement.

• Said he saw "no change fundamentally" in the attitude of North Vietnam, and thus "no opportunity" for U.S. trade with Hanoi. Mr. Ford said Hanoi had agreed in the Paris accords of 1973 to give the U.S. access to its MIA's (missing in action), but had not done so.

He recalled that Hanoi had also said that if the U.S. would pay for war damage, North Vietnam would provide the opportunity to verify MIAs. But, Mr. Ford said, Hanoi's statements about trade had been made only in public, to businessmen.

• Said that Henry Kissinger "can stay as long as he wants to" as Secretary of State. "I don't see any reason for re-opening the Warren Commission probe into the assassination of President

Kennedy. "I have seen no new evidence," he said, to change his mind that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone. The commission, he said, knew of alleged connections between Oswald and "some of the Cubans."

The pardon of Richard Nixon, he said, "was probably one of the best decisions I have made."

Looking back on his presidency, he could see "no serious mistakes" so far.

From page 1

## \*Europe gets in on space shuttle

However, Europe's space programs have had a checkered history.

The European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO), established in the early 1960s, has had so many failures that the British, who are primarily responsible for its establishment, pulled out in 1964. Since then the French have carried on rocket research by themselves.

Springing from academic roots in 1964, a second European organization, European Space Research Organization (ESRO), had a number of initial problems; also, Scientific

For a number of years there has been a push for a single, unified European space organization. A month ago this goal was realized when a convention reorganizing ESRO and ELDO into the European Space Agency was agreed upon.

## Australia

### Can public hospitals cope with socialized medicine?

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Medibank, the extensively publicized and hotly debated program of socialized medicine in Australia, took effect July 1.

The program, fiercely opposed by the Australian Medical Association, gives all citizens and their overseas visitors automatic coverage for physicians' bills and for treatment in the public wards of government-run hospitals.

Under the Australian Constitution the federal and state governments have joint powers in some areas, including health care. But so far three states — New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia — have refused to sign the necessary agreements for the federal government to implement fully the hospital sector of the Medibank program.

The program is being watched closely for the answers to three questions many here are asking:

• Can the taxpayer afford it? The estimated first-year cost of the program is something

less than \$2 billion — to be taken out of consolidated revenues.

• Will "free" treatment increase the demand for physicians' services and thus result in less personal attention for those whose needs seem greatest?

• Will public hospitals cave in under the volume of work?

Medibank works in the following manner: • A patient will pay nothing if his physician agrees to send the bill directly to the government. The physician then is refunded 85 percent of the government-approved fee for the treatment involved. The federal Health Insurance Commission contends that the other 15 percent, which the physician loses to the government, is compensated for by his savings in administrative costs and bad debts.

• Because many physicians will refuse to bill the government, the patient must then put in a claim under Medibank for 85 percent of the approved fee. The patient, in turn, pays that amount to the physician. The difference between the approved fee and the remainder of the account becomes a matter between physician and patient.







## science

### Safer space flight ahead

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Johnson Space Center, Houston

Together with its meaning for detente, the historic U.S.-Soviet linkup in space is also a step toward helping to make future space flights safer.

The linkup, and the handshake between Thomas Stafford and Alexei Leonov which followed it, was made possible by a new universal docking gear which fitted Apollo and Soyuz capsules.

It is possible for the same docking gear to be used in the future if spacecraft of one nation are marooned in space and need help from another.

In fact, the Soviets agreed to discuss a joint space flight two months after the president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Philip Handler, took to the Soviet Union a U.S. novel which told of cosmonauts rescuing astronauts in space.

At the time, the Soviets were having trouble with their man-in-space program. Now it will be possible in the future to plan international rescue missions — although the missions will have to await a new generation of spacecraft, officials concede. Current space hardware puts severe limitations on rescue possibilities.

An article in a Moscow-published magazine, International Affairs, about the mission explains that the present achievement "will acquire special importance when the 'population' and 'traffic' in space grow, as more and more countries take part in world astronautics."

Emergency plans for the Apollo-Soyuz rendezvous illustrate the limitations.

The Apollo capsule carries spare seats which makes it possible to return to earth with both the American and Soviet crews. This would be the course of action if severe problems developed aboard the Soyuz.

However, if the Apollo failed, the Soyuz could only return two men. It does not have room for any more.

Besides the Apollo capsule being used for the joint mission, only one other is complete.



Saturn rocket's fiery wake mirrored in Florida swamp as it blasts astronauts towards Soyuz rendezvous

It would take about a month to prepare for launch, say space agency officials. So if a major problem should develop in the active Soviet program planned for the latter part of the 1970s rescue by Americans would be difficult.

In the immediate future, Soviet space activities will be centered in Salyut space stations. Cosmonauts will be ferried to and from them in Soyuz capsules similar to the one being used in the current mission.

According to Boris Kuznetsov of the In-

stitute of Space Research in Moscow, cosmonauts in their space station can be rescued even if difficulties develop in the Soyuz capsule which ferried them up from earth.

The malfunctioning capsule can be jettisoned from the space station and an empty Soyuz controlled entirely from the ground can be launched and docked automatically.

Soviet information officers say that they intend to use the universal docking mechanism on "all prospective space programs."

When the American space shuttle begins

operation in 1980 the U.S. will have extremely effective rescue ability.

The shuttle is a rocket-powered glider the size of a small jet airliner (DC-9) with a foot-by-15-foot cargo bay. It is designed to carry everything from small space laboratories to as many as eight different satellites simultaneously.

With its mechanical arm the shuttle can grab on to both a Soyuz space ship and a station joined together and fit them both in its cargo bay.

## Hawaiian volcano puts on lurid firework display

By Hal Glickler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Associated Press called from Washington, D.C., to find out if any towns were threatened by the lava flows.

Robert Tilling, scientist-in-charge of the U.S. Geological Survey's Hawaiian Volcanoes Observatory, took the call with his customary patience at 3 a.m., Hawaii time. CBS, NBC, and ABC News had already called to ask the same thing: "so had every all-night radio station in Honolulu and one from Los Angeles. 'Is there any danger?' they had wanted to know."

There wasn't. In this age when nearly every turn of the earth brings with it a "natural disaster," or a movie about one, it is reassuring that Mauna Loa, dormant for centuries, can erupt without causing any trouble.

One of the world's largest volcanoes, Mauna Loa is over 13,000 feet high; its exact dimensions were scheduled to be measured by a federal geological team next month, but whatever they were they have changed now.

A shield volcano, it takes its name from its long, low, rounded shape. It is different from the "cone" which most people picture when they think of a volcano. It has never been explosive in eruption; its most famous volcanic activity is called the "cure of fire," a chain of fissures, large and small, that open in a line, generally along its northeast-southwest backbone ridge.

Mauna Loa occupies nearly all of the southern half of the island of Hawaii. It had erupted on the average of once every three years, since it was first scientifically monitored in 1832 up through the first half of the 20th century. In 1955, a flow reached within

three miles of the city of Hilo, to the northeast, and in 1949 some evacuated fishing villages on the Kona coast, to the southwest, were inundated by lava which steamed into the sea. Since June, 1950, however, Mauna Loa has been inactive.

Previous to the recent eruption, there had been indications that Mauna Loa's quiet period was over. For several months, Mr. Tilling had been monitoring an increase in seismic activity and a swelling at its summit. His staff of seismologists and volcanologists had already installed measuring devices there, but the radiotelemetry equipment which would have broadcast their data back to the observatory had not been installed.

Bob Tilling and his wife, Susan, know how to live with volcanoes. There's a seismic alarm in their house at the Volcanoes National Park. Whenever there is a significant earthquake or pre-eruption tremor, On Saturday, July 5, it rang at about 11:30 p.m. Fourteen minutes later, bundled in warm clothes, the Tillings could see a red glow at the summit of Mauna Loa.

At 2 a.m. on Sunday, volcano scientist and pilot Jack Lockwood and U.S. Geological Survey photographer Robin Holcomb were in a light plane, circling the summit crater. They reported fountains of lava 20 to 30 meters high, with smoke plumes reaching up to three times higher, illuminated by the glow from the caldera, called the crater of Mokuaweoweo, which was filled with spurting lava.

At 4 a.m. Mr. Lockwood reported that the southwest rift zone had begun to die down and that the northeast rift was becoming more active. Small breaks in the clouds had appeared, and Mr. Tilling, at the observatory, could now see the line of fiery sprays of mol-

ten rock seemingly "just over" the top of the mountain. The glow lit up the fume clouds as they arched up and then away from the site, blown by the prevailing northeast trade winds.

At 5:15 a.m. about the same time Messrs. Lockwood and Holcomb landed in Hilo to refuel, reports of the volcanic activity came in from an unexpected direction. Hawaii's other great mountain is the inactive volcano Mauna Kea — taller by 100 feet than Mauna Loa but not nearly so massive. On its summit are several astronomical observatories, the largest of which is operated by the University of Hawaii. At midnight, an astronomer there was distracted from his work by the glow from Mauna Loa, 30 miles across what is popularly called the "saddle" between the mountains. From his vantage point at 13,796 feet, he could see the entire progress of the eruption. He filmed it in time-lapse, and then phoned the Volcanoes Observatory to report that "the whole caldera is bright red; we can see fingers of lava coming down into the saddle along the northeast slope."

The plane was aloft again by 6 a.m. Former observatory director Don Peterson was aboard this time; he confirmed sighting two flows as low as 11,500 feet elevation on the mountain's northeast rift, one 100 meters wide and the other 400 meters wide.

There was some anxiety at this point because, theoretically, the lava might head toward Hilo, but an hour later, the flows had slowed. Fountaining had dropped to about 15 meters, Mr. Peterson reported.

At 8:30, the rocky slopes of Mauna Loa's old flows were bathed in red dawn light, and the glow at the top seemed to fade, both from its own burning out and from the clear blue sky that lightened behind it.

After 12 hours of brilliance, Mauna Loa was quiet again.



Mauna Loa belches smoke

## financial

### Arms deal of the century

## Why American F-16 beat French Mirage

By David R. Francis  
Business and financial editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

France's Mirage F1/MS3, according to a European air expert, is a "splendid sunset." The General Dynamics F-16, he added, is a "beautiful sunrise."

That comment, to a considerable extent, explains why the United States aircraft won the sales battle for the so-called "arms deal of the century."

The F-16 was the newly designed start of a new-generation aircraft. The Dassault aircraft was the latest in a series of improved Mirage aircraft.

In other words, the F-16 was the superior plane.

That was apparently a key factor in the Belgian decision last month to buy 102 of the F-16s worth about \$622 million. That decision clinched a joint agreement with the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway for a total of 308 aircraft. The U.S. Air Force wants at least 650.

Worldwide final total sales, it is estimated, could reach 3,000 for a value of more than \$18 billion. That will make it the biggest series of deals in the history of the aircraft industry.

Here are some of the design features, in the view of General Dynamics people here, which make the aircraft attractive:

- It has "fly by wire" flight control. Wires from four computers transmit electronic commands — as vs. mechanical links — to the control surfaces of the aircraft.

- When the pilot gives the aircraft basic instructions with his controls, the computer changes the control surfaces to minimize wind drag and alter the center of gravity of the aircraft. This gives the craft enormous maneuverability, a major asset for a fighter plane.

- As seen in the accompanying photograph, the F-16 can make incredibly tight turns.

- The body of the aircraft is designed as part of the lifting surface. This improves the plane's efficiency and reduces weight.

- Using knowledge obtained from its space research, General Dynamics designed a "high G cockpit." The pilot sits in a reclining position that enables him to withstand 1.5 to 2 Gs (one G is the force of gravity) more than in other aircraft.

This enables the pilot to take a tighter turn



F-16: 'Beautiful sunrise' scores over 'splendid sunset'

without blacking out as centrifugal force pushes blood from his brain.

- The F-16 has a good fuel-consumption performance. It consumes about 20 percent less fuel than its Mirage competitor. With rising fuel costs, this is more important.

- The aircraft itself promises to be relatively cheap — about \$6 million apiece. This was possible for General Dynamics because of the huge sales already assured to the U.S. Air Force (650 planes).

Dassault had a potential order from the French Air Force of only 120 Mirage F1-MS3s. Research, development and other start-up costs would have had to be spread over a smaller number of aircraft.

Reports from Paris indicate that even the French Air Force is now reluctant to buy the new Mirage. It has apparently set its sights on a futuristic ACF (avion de combat futur), a twin-engine, low-level fighter-bomber unveiled 18 months ago as a prototype by Dassault. It would be ready for service in the early 1980s if the project is pushed along.

Deliveries of the General Dynamics plane to

the U.S. Air Force are to start about mid-1978 and to the four European air forces early in 1979.

Another sales point for General Dynamics was its willingness to share work on the F-16 with European manufacturers. Work equivalent to 40 percent of the value of the aircraft ordered in Europe is to be undertaken on this side of the Atlantic.

In addition, the European factories are to get 10 percent of the value of the U.S. Air Force order and up to 15 percent of the value of any "third country" orders.

Ironically, here in Belgium a subsidiary of Dassault will receive large subcontracts from General Dynamics.

The French argued that Belgium and the Netherlands should buy the Mirage to support a European aerospace industry. But the Dutch did not think the Mirage a suitable aircraft for this purpose. Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans pointed out that the French did not even take part in NATO integration nor in the Eurogroup that concerned itself with European procurement.



Good turn

Contrails show F-16 curling tighter than Phantom fighter. Both aircraft began maximum-performance turn at same speed and altitude.

## Peugeot predicts healthier European car industry in summer of '76

By Charles E. Dole  
Automotive editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

How fast will Europe's badly battered auto industry get back on the road to recovery?

Pierre Peugeot, chairman of the holding company which controls France's No. 2 car producer and one of Europe's most optimistic seers, looks for a marked upturn by the middle of next year.

"By the summer of 1976," he predicts, "the European auto industry should return to more healthy levels barring a worsening of the current recession or another Mideast oil embargo."

Umberto Agnelli, managing director of Fiat, on the other hand, is far more pessimistic, saying he doesn't look for a return to 1973 levels at least till 1979. Most other prognosticators agree it may be somewhere in between.

Regardless of who is right, the European auto industry is slogging through its deepest crisis since the end of World War II. Manufacturers have watched sales fall from an all-time record of 11 million in 1973 to an expected 7.2 million in 1975.

New-car sales in France now are running about 20 percent below the rate of two years ago.

"Western Europe," Mr. Peugeot told a group of six U.S. auto writers recently, "has had economic growth in every year since 1945.

We were unprepared for any fluctuation in the trend."

Some manufacturers now are burdened with unsold cars. Fiat, for instance, still has well over 200,000 cars in stock, down from around 300,000 the first of the year.

At the same time, European automakers are watching a steady stream of cut-price new cars from Eastern-bloc countries roll into the showrooms, thus grabbing some of the sales which might otherwise go to the Flats of Europe. The prices are as much as 20 percent lower than newer-model cars built in Western Europe.

Ironically, the Italian carmaker helped to set up the plants in Eastern Europe and even provided the car to be produced, an old-model Fiat 124.

Fourteen big-time auto companies are battling for a Western European market about the same size as that in the United States.

Only five of these companies showed a major profit in 1974. Daimler-Benz and BMW in West Germany, Peugeot in France, and Volvo and Saab-Scania in Sweden. At least that many had staggering losses for the year, including Volkswagen.

The West German automaker, which already has slashed its work force and now is planning to cut it by another 25,000 in the next 18 months, recorded a whopping \$400 million loss in 1974. The prospects for 1975, according to one U.S. bank economist, are for at least a further \$200 million loss. A VW official in the

United States says it could be as bad as last year.

The VW plight is linked not only to the economic downturn but also to the huge capital expenditure required for the development and production of an all-new line of cars to replace the aging lineup typified by the long-popular Beetle.

To counter their downturn in Europe, some of the firms, such as Peugeot in France and Alfa Romeo in Italy, are looking for sharply higher sales in the U.S. and are redesigning cars with the U.S. market in mind.

The automakers' plight is forcing several governments to funnel vast sums of money into the auto companies, either directly or indirectly.

The French Government, after a major infusion of cash, brought about the merger of Peugeot with sibling Citroen. Volvo took over DAF, a small Dutch carmaker. In Britain, the government is committed to a rescue operation for British Leyland, a hard-pressed producer facing massive labor problems and a dearth of cash.

Mr. Peugeot says that a major stumbling block in the recovery of the French auto industry is an expected shortage of capital-investment funds over the next few years as competition for investment cash intensifies.

The anticipated lack of capital applies to other European automakers, and to the U.S. industry as well.

Meanwhile, used-car sales are booming in France, declares Mr. Peugeot, largely be-

cause of the far lower down payment required of the buyer. France pins a 30 percent national tax on all new cars and also requires a 25 percent down payment.

In a tightening economy, the used car looks like a good deal to the French buyer.

### EXCHANGE RATES

	DOLLARS
Argentine peso	.040
Australian dollar	1.320
Austrian schilling	.056
Belgian franc	.0289
Brazilian cruzeiro	.123
British pound	2.175
Canadian dollar	.971
Colombian peso	.034
Danish krone	.175
French franc	.233
Dutch guilder	.386
Hong Kong dollar	.202
Israeli pound	.170
Italian lire	.001
Japanese yen	.003
Mexican peso	.080
Norwegian krone	.189
Portuguese escudo	.040
South African rand	1.405
Spanish peseta	.017
Swedish krona	.239
Swiss franc	.377
Venezuelan bolivar	.234
W. German Deutsche Mark	.398







# children

## Footprints of young explorers

Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their exploration on any subject they choose. Those items unused will be returned if sender provides a stamped self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

### Dinosaur Spikey

Dinosaur Spikey  
And one Dinosaur climbed a ladder up into  
the clouds.  
Now, of course, this is pretend, you know.  
Now, this Dinosaur had one thorn on his nose.  
And this Dinosaur was real little

And real mean.  
And his name was:  
Dinosaur other-animal-eater.  
Chicken eater. Thunder names us.  
This Dinosaur climbed a ladder to the sun.

Matt Brown, 4  
Cliffside Park, New Jersey



Scott Hector, 6  
Englewood, Colorado

## How to cope when a daughter picks the 'wrong' boyfriend

By Eloise Taylor Lee

You raise a daughter pretty enough and popular enough to be homecoming queen; you give her every advantage you can afford and some you can't; you protect her as much as you can. Then, suddenly, she starts running around with the worst kid she's ever met, and she won't listen to reason. These are the troubled thoughts of a mother and father when their daughter, Elaine, a sixteen-year-old, started dating Nord.

Elaine ignored her parents' counsel and defied their wishes. Within a few months she had gained a reputation in the neighborhood as a wild child. Her parents, for being too permissive; those across the street offered sympathy; the school guidance counselor called Elaine's relationship with Nord "a phase." Threat of punishment, bribery ("We'll give you a trip to Europe if you promise not to see Nord again!"), reasoning — all failed to dissuade Elaine.

The next fall the enamored Nord dropped out of school to devote his entire attention to Elaine. But she could not let much ardor for a dropout, and she wanted a boyfriend she could see during the day at school. She figured out for herself that Nord wasn't right for her.

Convincing him of this wasn't easy. He was very persistent, and he had lots of free time. He kept telephoning and stopping by her house.

"Please answer the telephone and door

and tell Nord I'm not home," Elaine begged her mother.

But Elaine's mother refused to do the "dirty work."  
"You got yourself into this situation, and it's up to you to get out of it," she maintained.

What enabled Elaine's mother to take this strong stand, since she really didn't want Elaine to get involved again with Nord and each encounter posed the risk that he might persuade her to resume their friendship?

Elaine's parents had observed their daughter's determination when she had wanted to date Nord; they counted on her own determination to break away from a relationship she no longer wanted. Also, they agreed that she might pick someone like Nord again if she did not learn from this experience.

For a while Nord persisted, but eventually he understood that Elaine herself, and not just her parents, rejected his overtures. He quit wasting his time on Elaine and got a new girlfriend.

After that, Elaine showed more caution and better judgment in choosing boyfriends. Now, three years later, she attends a state university away from home, and has many opportunities to utilize the lesson her parents instilled in her.

What worked in this case might not work in another. But families can draw encouragement from this instance, in which a trying experience was turned into a valuable lesson.

### Animals' names

Piggy's name is Jimmy  
and fox's name is James,  
and they both agreed they  
had the best names.

Pussy's name is Robinson,  
and donkey's name is Bruce,  
and they both felt uncomfortable,  
because their jumpers were too loose.  
Rachel Fearey, 10  
Weybridge, Surrey, England

### The land behind your arm

The dark eerie silence, not a  
sound in the air,  
Is that someone in the corner?  
That I am not aware.  
Colors passing through the darkness  
to the land that is not there.

It's happening too soon,  
for me to feel scared,  
Yet something's uncomfortable  
in the air,  
That's not heard.  
Plunging on and on through the  
darkness that has no end.  
The land of darkness, when  
You lift up your head,  
Is at its end.

Kathryn Jane Milled  
Belfast, Northern Ireland

### If I were

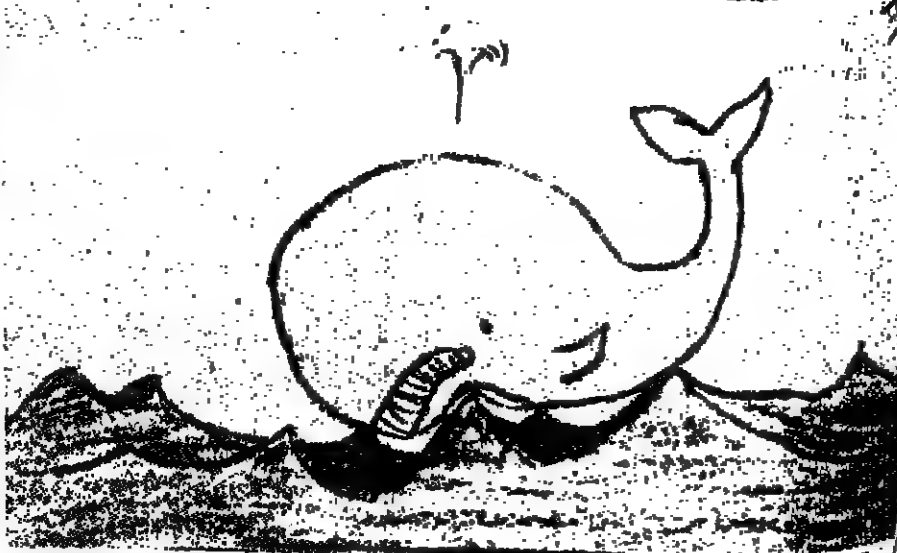
If I were a whale, I'd swim in the sea and eat fish and stick up my tail.

If I were a deer, I'd live in the woods and graze in the meadow and tramp through the woods. I'd run away from hunters and trick dogs, too.

If I were a lighthouse, I'd have a light on me. I'd light the ships' way through the night and have people living in me.

But of all the things that I could be, I think the best one is me.

Jennifer Lisham  
Craig, Alaska



Susan Beyer, 8  
Redding, Oregon

### Can you find and circle the hidden art terms?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even backwards.

SHOWING KANDS LUM T N I R P  
HCAI WYTPERSPECTIVE PA  
EMULABSTRACTWEAVING I  
G C C U P A L U D A Z A N D S D T W T  
R R O S E T I N O N K M U S E L E S A E  
A A M T D O O W V A L E K E N S T T R  
V E P R U E S R M A Y E N E N S I L E K  
I C O A T P B A K S U M M T E T G E R L  
N E S T C A L A O C R A H C U I N N C F  
G I L I E C R L A S R N N H B A S O O E  
V P T O J S K A Y F M E T N O R V I L I  
Q R I N B D A N Y R E G R O F T L O L  
N E O T U N S I N G L A N U G R T C R E  
I T N A S A P G U N E F U N T O R U S R  
T S T I L L I F E T K I N G P E A S T  
N A O L E Y L R U G S W A Y R B L L A G  
I M K D R O L O C H A R T I S T K U L Y  
A N O I T R O P O R P U S C I L Y R C A  
P M N O I T C U D O R P E R N T Z A S

Abstract  
Acrylics  
Artist  
Auction  
Bronze  
Canvas  
Charcoal  
Clay  
Color  
Composition  
Design  
Drawing  
Enamel  
Engraving  
Etching  
Forge  
Frame  
Gallery  
Illustration  
Landscape  
Masterpiece  
Model  
Mood  
Oil  
Original  
Painting  
Pastel  
Pencil  
Portrait  
Propose  
Relief  
Reproduction  
Sculpture  
Sketch  
Still life  
Subject  
Water color  
Wood

Veronica A. Ragatz. Hidden art terms among advertisements.

# arts/books

## Art Criticism: study of a 16th-century man

By Christopher Andreas

Nobody knows who this old man is. It is assumed that the drawing was a preparatory study for one of van Leyden's engravings, possibly of an evangelist. But this is guesswork. The prints in question anyway do not show the man from the front in this way. Since there is no known print like it, it is particularly fortunate that this drawing found its way, in 1892, into the British Museum. With other drawings by Lucas van Leyden in the same album, the British Museum at that time acquired the largest group of his existing drawings in the world. They give an insight into his art not provided by his prints.

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But what makes this drawing special seems to me more than anything the strange feeling it gives of self-portraiture. Obviously it isn't a self-portrait: the artist was under 30 at the time, and his subject isn't looking at him; but to draw someone else drawing is an act of identification. Its closeness — were they both drawing on different sides of the same table? — gives an intimate sense of mirror-image.



"An Old Man": Black-chalk drawing by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1538)

## 'The Day of the Locust' on screen

By David Sterritt

The long-awaited film version of *The Day of the Locust* is a knockabout tragic farce, often recalling the zany Hollywood that Nathaniel West (a movie writer himself) bitterly parodied in his novel of the same title.

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The result is a true epic, laced with filmic fireworks and grounded in an authentic (though pessimistic) artistic vision.

Nathaniel West's novel is tough, cynical, and brilliantly written. His characters stumble through a bleak Hollywood wasteland in search of some nebulous salvation that even the movies can't offer. To pass the time they love, laugh, cry, cheat, work, and cause one another pain and humiliation.

The Schlesinger film is a sprawling, sprawling, sprawling battle of a film. It dissects one segment of American bourgeois society — searching mostly for the nasty, the squalid, and the mean — then smears its findings across the silver screen in lush Technicolor with a big budget and a star-studded cast.

Yet, paradoxically, it never quite loses sight of some essential dignity in its sad array of antiheroes. That's why we keep on watching — fascinated, aware that we are in the presence

of some small truth — even as the story veers from skepticism to downright desolation.

These three act, interact, grow, regress, combine, and align in various ways throughout the roller-coasterish plot. Finally they are caught in the riot of human insects that gives the "Locust" tale its title. They are unhappy people. At times they seem as bizarre as the parade of grotesques who fill in the background of West's allegorical canvases. But during the movie's central scenes they come convincingly, even appealingly, to life.

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## Kenneth Clark's self-portrait

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His background was not auspicious. Indeed, he was brought up in a world about as far removed as anyone could imagine from the aesthetic universe in which he is now himself a luminary. His father liked nothing better than to gamble. As a boy, young Clark found himself mostly on a yacht moored off Monte Carlo. There were occasional interruptions in the form of shooting parties and trips to the music hall. Otherwise, his childhood was passed in the twilight of his father's obsession with roulette.

At the age of seven, though, young Kenneth recognized his own ability to tell good art from bad. From then on that was the motivating force in his life. His life-story begins with a

spirited description of what he calls the godless, disgraceful, overfed social order of Edwardian England. It goes on to describe how he emerged from this, eager to develop his aesthetic faculties, able to support these "facilities" with scholarship and experience, until at the age of thirty Kenneth Clark was appointed director of the National Gallery in London.

You can read this book for its many entertaining character-studies of those Lord Clark has known well — Maurice Bowra, Bernard Berenson, Logan Pearsall Smith, and other members of the art world. Or you can read it for its delicious anecdotes.

I think part of the reason for his immense success is the fact that there is a certain gap between the sobriety of these roles and attainments and the radiant and unquenchable enthusiasm of his natural character. He is a born talker. This book talks about life and art with a casual wit that only serves to barb its wisdom. It is an immediately likable portrait of a man who says that he was "saved from the poison of success in the world" by one thing — "an unabated and insatiable joy in the contemplation of works of art."

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.



## children

## Footprints of young explorers

Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their exploration on any subject they choose. Those items unused will be returned if sender provides a stamped self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

## Dinosaurus Spikey

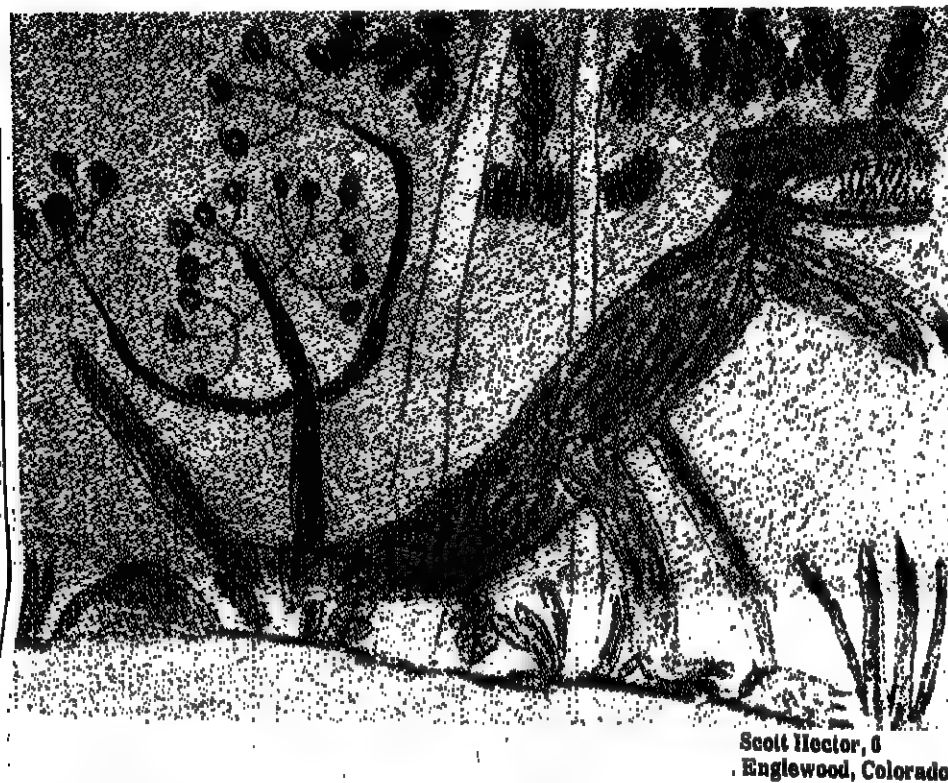
Dinosaurus Spikey  
And one Dinosaur climbed a ladder up  
into  
the clouds.  
Now, of course, this is pretend, you know.  
Now, this Dinosaur had one thorn on his  
nose.  
And this Dinosaur was real little

And real mean.

And his name was:

Dinosaurus other-animal-eater.  
Chicken eater. Thunder names us.  
This Dinosaurus climbed a ladder to the  
sun.

Matt Swan, 4  
Cliffside Park, New Jersey



Scott Hector, 8  
Englewood, Colorado

## How to cope when a daughter picks the 'wrong' boyfriend

By Elaine Taylor Lee

You raise a daughter pretty enough and popular enough to be homecoming queen; you give her every advantage you can afford and, some you can't; you protect her as much as you can. Then suddenly, she starts running around with the worst kid she's ever met, and she won't listen to reason. These are the troubled thoughts of a mother and father when their daughter, Elaine, a sixteen-year-old, started dating Nord.

Elaine ignored her parents' counsel and defied their wishes. Within a few months she had gained a reputation in the school as a "bad girl." Her parents, who had been so proud of her, now felt a sense of shame. They tried to reason with her, but she was too stubborn. She had picked a boy who was not only unpopular but also had a bad reputation. The school counselor, who had been so helpful in the past, now seemed to be on the other side of the fence. Elaine's relationship with Nord was a disaster. She was being teased and bullied, and she was losing her friends. Her parents were desperate. They tried to talk to her, but she would not listen. She was determined to stay with Nord, no matter what.

The next fall, the seamed Nord dropped out of school to devote his entire attention to Elaine. But she could not feel much ardor for a dropout, and she wanted a boyfriend she could see during the day at school. She figured out for herself that Nord wasn't right for her.

Convincing him of this wasn't easy. He was very persistent, and he had lots of free time. He kept telephoning and stopping by her house.

"Please answer the telephone and door

and tell Nord I'm not home," Elaine begged her mother.

But Elaine's mother refused to do the "dirty work."

"You got yourself into this situation, and it's up to you to get out of it," she maintained.

What enabled Elaine's mother to take this strong stand, since she really didn't want Elaine to get involved again with Nord and each encounter posed the risk that he might persuade her to resume their friendship?

Elaine's parents had observed their daughter's determination when she had wanted to date Nord; they counted on her being too stubborn to be easily swayed. Also, they agreed that she might pick someone like Nord again if she did not learn from this experience.

For a while Nord persisted, but eventually he understood that Elaine herself, and not just her parents, rejected his overtures. He quit wasting his time on Elaine and got a new girl friend.

After that, Elaine showed more caution and better judgment in choosing boyfriends. Now, three years later, she attends a state university away from home and has many opportunities to utilize the lesson her parents insisted she learn.

What worked in this case might not work in another. But families can draw encouragement from this instance, in which a trying experience was turned into a valuable lesson.

## Animals' names

Piggy's name is Jimmy  
and fox's name is James,  
and they both agreed they  
had the best names.

Pussy's name is Robinson,  
and donkey's name is Bruce,  
and they both felt uncomfortable,  
because their jumpers were too loose.

Rachel Fearey, 10  
Weybridge, Surrey, England

## The land behind your arm

The dark eerie silence, not a  
sound in the air,  
Is that someone in the corner?  
That I am not aware.  
Colors passing through the darkness  
to the land that is not there.

It's happening too soon,  
for me to feel scared,  
Yet something's uncomfortable  
in the air,  
that's not heard.  
Plunging on and on through the  
darkness that has no end,  
The land of darkness, when  
You lift up your head,  
Is at its end.

Kathryn Jane Ridd  
Belfast, Northern Ireland

## If I were

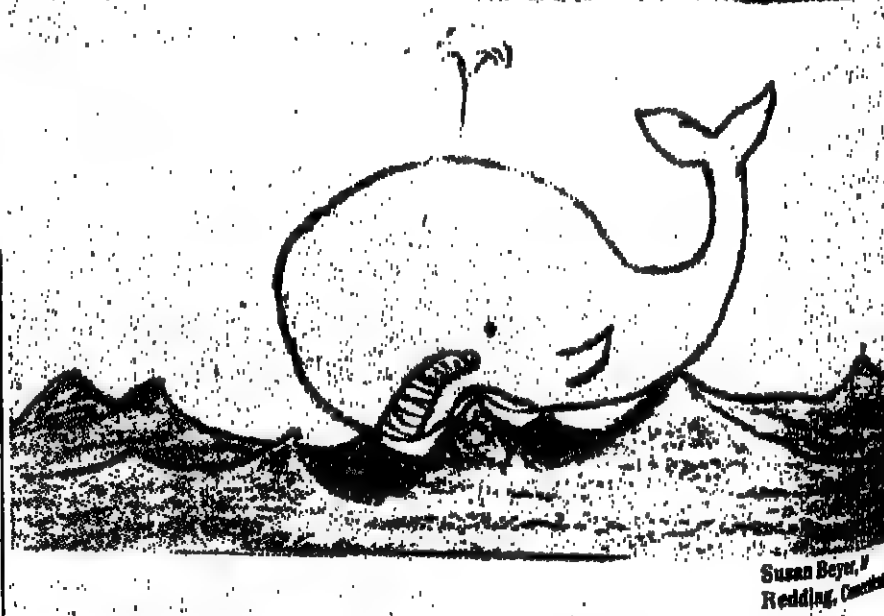
If I were a whale, I'd swim in the sea and eat fish and stick up my tail.

If I were a deer, I'd live in the woods and graze in the meadow and tramp through the woods. I'd run away from hunters and trick dogs, too.

If I were a lighthouse, I'd have a light on me. I'd light the ships' way through the night and have people living in me.

But of all the things that I could be, I think the best one is me.

Jennifer Loken  
Craig, Alaska



Susan Bayne, 11  
Redding, Connecticut

## Can you find and circle the hidden art terms?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even backwards.

S H O W I N G K A N D S L U M T N I R P  
H C A I W Y T P E R S P E C T I V E P A  
E M U L A B S T R A C T W E A V I N G I  
G O C C U P A L U D A Z A N D A S D T W T  
R O S E T I N O N K M U S E L E S A E  
A A M T D O O W A L E K E N S T T R  
V E P R U E S R M A Y E N E N S I L E K  
I C O A T P B A K S U M M T E T G E R L  
N E S T C A L A O C R A H C U I N N C F  
G I I E C R L A S R N N H B A S O E  
V P T O J S K A Y F M E T N O R Y I L I  
G R I N B D A N Y R E G R O F T L O L  
N E O T U N S I N G L A N U G R T C R E  
I T N A S A P G U N E F U N T O R U S R  
T S T I L L I F E T K I N G P E A S T  
N A Q L E Y L R U G S W A Y R E L A G  
I M K D R O L O C H A R T I S T K U L Y  
A N O I T R O P O R P U B C I L Y R C A  
P M N O I T C U D O R P E R N T Z A S

Veronica A. Regan's Artistic block appears among advertisements.

Abstract  
Acrylics  
Artist  
Auction  
Bronze  
Canvas  
Charcoal  
Clay  
Color  
Composition  
Design  
Drawing  
Etching  
Enamel  
Engraving  
Etching  
Forgery  
Frame  
Gallery  
Illustration  
Landscape  
Masterpiece  
Model  
Mood  
Oil  
Original  
Painting  
Pastel  
Perspective  
Print  
Proportion  
Reproduction  
Sculpture  
Sketch  
Still life  
Subject  
Water color  
Wood

## arts/books

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Courtesy of the British Museum, London

"An Old Man": Black chalk drawing by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533)

## 'The Day of the Locust' on screen

By David Sterritt

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Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.



# home

## Watering your garden: be sure the soil is soaked

By Peter Tonge  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

My wife isn't the envying type. But if she coveted anything in the world it was the cucumbers a friend of mine, Emil Dahlquist, had growing in his garden last year.

Emil's main interests lie elsewhere, but he does have time for a small garden. The cukes it contained were the best I had seen in a long time.

He grew them on soil ridges that looked like mounded potato rows. But the secret of his success lay in the number of empty cans he had buried part way in the soil every 12 inches or so. These made it possible to water his water-loving cucumbers properly.

Indeed, the most important nutrient required for plant growth is water. All the nutrients absorbed by the roots of a plant must first be dissolved by water and then transported by water through the plant itself. Plants also maintain proper temperature by transpiring through the leaves. In other words, plants, like people, perspire, and to do so they need water.

One final fact to underscore this importance: Between 80 and 95 percent of an actively growing plant is water. A cabbage, for instance, is 93 percent water.

The most common mistake people make when it comes to watering is to assume that because the surface of the soil is wet, the rest of it is, too. That is frequently not so.

An acquaintance of mine who got indifferent results from his garden last year insisted he thoroughly watered his garden. Yet whenever I saw it, it was crying out with thirst. In fact, his garden had been watered often but never well.

There is a simple check to test if the soil is adequately wet: After watering, scrape away the top one inch of soil. If it is still damp at that depth, fine. If not, water again.

All too frequently water drains away from a plant before it can be soaked up by the soil. To avoid this, make saucer-like depressions around your larger plants, such as tomatoes, so that the water will gather there and then soak deep into the soil. Or you might try the Dahlquist method, which worked so wonderfully for his cucumbers.

Take some empty cans (2 pound cans are a good size) and cut out the bottom as well as the top (or else punch holes in the bottom) and sink these one-third of the way into the soil. Whenever you water, fill these cans. The water, which now cannot flow away from the plants over the surface of the soil, is forced straight down where it is needed. Mr. Dahlquist also added compost to the bottom of the cans so that every time he watered he was, in fact, feeding the cucumbers.

Use a mulch, too. It cuts down on evaporation and keeps weeds out of the garden as an added bonus.

So much for getting an adequate supply of water to your plants. Can you give them too much water? Yes—if you have a heavy clay soil in your garden.

Roots need air as well as water, and overwet soils block out the supply of air. The solution lies in incorporating lots of organic matter to make the soil porous. It might help to raise the beds on clay soils so that heavy rains can drain away from the plants more readily.

Clay soils retain moisture better than light soils during dry spells. Remember, though, once dry, clay requires a lot more water to become adequately moist again.

## Missing: the chic Frenchwoman

By Phyllis Feldkamp  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

A slowing economy has sent the miraculously dressed, meticulously groomed Frenchwoman underground. You rarely see the "femme du monde" who would do credit to Dior sauntering along the rue du faubourg

**Fashion**  
Saint Honore looking as if she'd spent half the morning at the hairdresser's and the other half choosing her shoes. Today there is more "laissez-faire" than "noblesse oblige" in French dressing.

What you do see are T-shirts with printed cotton skirts or pinafores, sandals with high stacked-leather or wedge heels, and inexpensive straw totes, which in days gone by would have been considered suitable for marketing or possibly a picnic in the country.

Paris newspapers devote much more space on their women's pages to the progress of the

"Mouvement de la Liberation de la Femme" than was the case when I was last here a year ago. Consumer-oriented stories appear with more frequency, and shopping tips are inclined to be money-saving rather than money-spending types. The good buy for a few francs is featured. For example—in Le Figaro—how you can find at the Praline (a low-price chain store) a creditable copy of the leather-trimmed Gucci felt tote called "le status sac."

The other cheap knock-off that has caught the fancy of Parisiennes and is available for the equivalent of \$3.50 in the shops is a rayon version of the Missoni silk jersey muffler. It is worn, in the approved Missoni manner, wound once around the neck and looped over low in front.

"Bluejeans," as the French call denim jeans, are as uniform in Paris as in any American high school. An impossibly tight model is the latest cut. A big smock cinched with a cummerbund is the usual top. "Fadouts" are thought by the French to have had it and the array of jeans in left-bank boutiques are all deep indigo.

## MONITOR RECIPE

### Try banana bread from California

Sherry Carey, La Jolla, California, sends a recipe for banana-molasses bread, which you may like to try.

**Banana Bread**  
3 ripe bananas  
1 egg, unbeaten  
1/2 cup sugar  
2 tablespoons light molasses (treacle)  
2 tablespoons melted cooking fat

2 cups sifted flour  
1 teaspoon each baking powder and soda  
1/2 teaspoon salt  
1 cup chopped walnuts

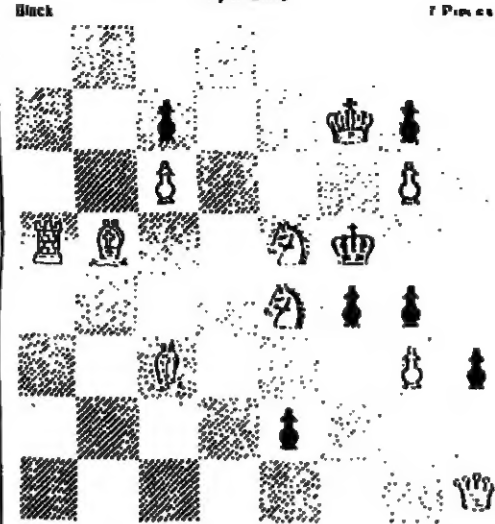
Mash bananas until no lumps remain. Add egg and mix well. Beat in sugar, molasses, and shortening. Sift together the flour, baking powder, soda, and salt. Add to first mixture. Stir in walnuts. Bake in greased 4-by-8-by-2-inch loaf pan at 325 degrees F. for about one hour.

# chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier

## Problem No. 6713

By D. Shire



White to play and mate in two.  
(First prize, British Chess Magazine, Two-movers, 1974.)

## Problem No. 6714

By D. I. Brown



White to play and mate in two.  
(Second prize, British Chess Magazine, Two-movers, 1974.)

## Solutions to Problems

No. 6711 Kt-B6  
No. 6712: 1 R4-K13 threatens 2 Kt-K3ch, Kt-K1. 3 P-K1 mate  
11... R-R7: 2 QxRch  
11... Q-R5: 2 P-K4ch

End-Game No. 2210. After 1... R-R8ch: 2 KxR, PxP, White escapes with 3 R-KB5, KxR, 4 P-K4ch, KxP; 5 K-K12, with a winning advantage.

## Cleveland International

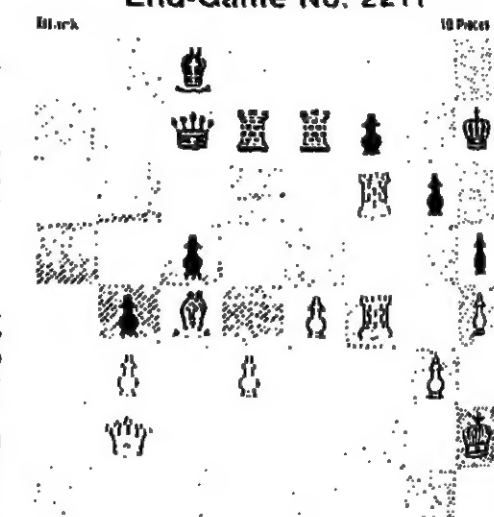
The winner of the Cleveland Plain Dealer International tournament, which concluded May 22, was grandmaster Isvan Cosin, Hungarian grandmaster. Second was Yugoslav grandmaster Predrag Matkovic, with Philippine grandmaster Eugenio Torre in a close third.

The top U.S. players were Andrew Soltis and Edmar Mednis, who were tied for fourth, fifth, and sixth with Florin Gheorghiu, Rumanian.

This event was jointly sponsored by the U.S. Chess Federation, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and the Cleveland Chess Association.

The score of Cosin's win from Mednis comes courtesy of the U.S. Chess Federation.

## End-Game No. 2211



White to play and win.  
(Golden-Link, European team championship, Kopenhagen, 1970.)

## Sicilian Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	P-QB4	18 O-O	QxRP
2 Kt-KB3	P-Q3	20 QR-Q	P-QR3
3 B-K15ch	Kt-Q2	21 R-Q4	R-K4
4 P-Q3	Kt-B3	22 R7-Q	K-K2
5 Kt-B3	PxP	23 R-Q8	H-K2
6 QxP	P-K4	24 R-K3	Q-K4
7 Q-Q3	P-KR3	25 Kt-Q2	P-K4
8 Kt-Q2	B-K2	26 Kt-K3	P-K4
9 Kt-B4	O-O	27 Q-B4	Kt-B3
10 BxK1	Bx8	28 P-KK3	P-B3
11 Kt-QP	Q-B2	29 Kt-K12	R-QR4
12 Kt-B5	(a) BxK1	30 Q-K3	P-B6
13 Px2	P-K5	31 Kt-K3	R-QK4
14 Q-K2	QR-B	32 Q-B4	R-OB4
15 B-Q2	B-B4	33 Q-K3	Q-R4
16 R-QR3	B-K4	34 R7-Q	Q-R6
17 B-K3	Q-K4	35 R7-Q2	R-KR4
18 Bx8	RxB		Resigns

(a) Soon White wins the OP, but the KBP remains weak, and Black is able to work out a strong K-side attack.

## Keres First at Vancouver

The late Estonian grandmaster, Paul Keres, easily justified his high rating by winning

## Petroff Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	P-K4	14 KR-Q	K-K1
2 Kt-KB3	Kt-B3	15 BxK1	OBx8
3 P-Q3	P-Q3	16 BxP	P-K3
4 Q-K12	B-B4	17 Kt-B5	Q-B4
5 P-R3	P-Q4	18 B-K7	Q-K3
6 P-K2	PxP	19 B-Q5	Q-R3
7 PxP	P-QR4	20 B-Q4	P-K1
8 O-O	Q-O	21 Q-Q2	P-K2
9 Q-B2	R-K	22 R5	P-K1
10 Kt-B4	Q-K2	23 R7	Q-K15
11 B-K15	Q-B	24 Kt-R4	Resigns
12 Kt-K3	B-K2	25 RxP	
13 B-K15	B-Q2		



# people

## Frank Church: benign scourge of the CIA

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
There were nine or 10 farmers gathered in a hot room in Shoshone County, Idaho, back in the summer of '68, listening to a young Democratic lawyer who was running like a deer for the United States Senate.

The lawyer, Frank Church, was talking and swigging great gulps of water as he unrolled a long campaign speech designed for a major rally. Finally one great big farmer at the back of the room said, "Young man, I want to tell you something. I'm gonna vote for you, but you're the only windmill I ever saw that ran entirely on water."

After the meeting someone asked Frank Church why he had given a whole speech to just a handful of people — "Why unload the whole bale of hay, Frank?" His answer: "Because I'm out to make converts — If I tell it to 10, they'll tell it to 10 more."

## Profile

That attitude, which at 32 made him one of the youngest men ever to win a Senate seat, may be an asset again during another important summer in Frank Church's life.

This is the summer when 10 million people may tell it to another 10 million as Sen. Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, chairs televised hearings on the domestic role of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Chairmen of controversial TV hearings have a way of becoming famous, as Senators Estes Kefauver and Sam J. Ervin Jr. proved, so before the next election Frank Church's name may be as familiar as John Wayne's.

But Senator Church is not now a candidate for the presidency, although his long-time campaign manager Carl Burke admits "he was prepared to put his foot in the water last January [when he was asked to chair the intelligence committee] and then pulled out because he knew that maintaining a political posture when running a serious type of investigation would be a disaster."

## Restoring confidence

When he is asked what the U.S. most needs in a president and whether he would be willing to give it, he answers:

"I think the country [he sighs] needs to have its confidence restored in political leadership. Any man that can do this, whoever he may be, that man we need for president."

Is he ruling himself out? "No, I'm not ruling one way or another. That's the bedrock requirement in the aftermath of Watergate and a whole decade of disillusionment."

Although he's not in the running now, the liberal weekly, "The Village Voice," profiled him as "the hottest liberal dark horse." He pushes the levers of power in several important Senate committees, appears almost nightly on camera to answer questions about CIA assassination charges or hearings on the scandals of multinational corporations.

Senator Church looks different off camera. On camera, answering volatile questions, he is formal, guarded, his eyes hooded, almost scholarly, with a certain heaviness of



Senator Church: probing, delving

manner and appearance which are deceptive. In person he is trim, ebullient, tall (six feet) with a tan face that grins easily, brown eyes, Indian black hair with some features of gray in it, and a warmth that the camera somehow doesn't catch.

The one constant, off camera or on, is the voice, a soft baritone that falls in measured cadences like lines from Tennyson, with no slang.

He says: "My father had a lively interest in politics. He was an adamant Republican and his hatred of [Franklin] Roosevelt was something to behold. . . . He liked to argue politics and it fell to me when no one else was available, as the youngest son, to take the other side of the argument."

"In the process I had to read up on Roosevelt, and I used to go to the library and try to understand what the New Deal was all about." In the process, he converted himself and gives his Republican father the credit for his becoming a Democrat.

We are sitting in Frank Church's Capitol office, a long

room decked with senatorial brown leather furniture and an oil portrait of one of his heroes, the legendary orator Sen. William Borah, "The Lion of Idaho." The office is hidden away at one end of a maze of marble corridors, and one of the precautions he takes as chairman of the intelligence committee is to have it swept regularly for "bugs."

## Partisan split avoided

There has been some public criticism that the committee is split but he denies it: "We have managed to avoid a partisan split and all of the decisions that have been reached so far have been unanimous. I think this is a remarkable feat . . . given the broad spectrum of philosophical differences represented in the membership, from Gary Hart to Barry Goldwater."

Sen. Howard H. Baker (R) of Tennessee, a member of the intelligence committee says, "I like Frank. He's honest and decent and doing a good job, but I suspect he has a strong partisan loyalty. Some unpleasant things took place during Democratic administrations, and I'm sure he's still trying to reconcile that. But I overcame that [on the Senate Watergate committee] and I'm sure he will too."

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D) of Montana says, "I've watched him for many years here and I've been tremendously impressed. He always was a corner . . . He's careful, conscientious, concise, and does his homework thoroughly."

Senator Church, after 15 years on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is also third in line for the chairmanship, with only elder statesman Mansfield before him.

## Wife 'teethed' on politics

Frank Church met his future wife in high school in Boise; she was Bethine Clark, daughter of Democratic Idaho Gov. Chase Clark, a woman who was teethed on politics as well as personal life. But he overrode her opposition to his early (1965) stand against the Vietnam war. He was one of the first to speak out, before it was politically chic, and was also co-author of the Cooper-Church amendment which put an end to the war in Cambodia by cutting off funds.

Mrs. Church describes their marriage: "He really likes home. He families," she says, using it as a verb.

The Churches have two sons, Forrest, a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School, and Chase, just graduated from Wall Whitman High School in Maryland. One of their favorite family spots is a Civil War cabin in the Pennsylvania woods where there's a fishing stream with what the Senator calls "some very elusive brown trout in it."

He is also an unaccomplished pianist, who played "The March of the Mickey Mouse" at a recent fund-raiser. Those who know him say he's a sentimentalist, too, a Churchill fan, and a man who comes to dinner but never finishes it because he loves to talk too much. He gave a still-remembered keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention in 1980; much earlier his golden throat won him a \$4,000 American Legion oratory award in high school. And that sound you may hear off in the wings is Frank Church clearing his throat for a TV summer.

## Celebrated historian lectures cruise passengers

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Abroad the Santa Mercedes off the coast of Brazil Samuel Elliot Morison may have put down his historian's pen as he claims in his conclusion to his masterly two-part work, "The European Discovery of America." But the same sparkle and pungency which characterized his long career as a Harvard scholar are still very much in evidence.

And so is his determined adherence to the rules of historical evidence.

He displayed all these traits on a recent sea voyage this spring around South America and through the Straits of Magellan — a voyage that was, in a way, something of a nostalgic pilgrimage for the Pulitzer Prize winner.

Admiral Morison had made the same trip several years ago as part of the research for his "The European Discovery of America." That trip, following Magellan's route, was the last of many he had taken with his late wife.

This time, in the company of daughter Wendy, he was making the journey not to do historical research, but to lecture on the

discovery of the New World to cruise passengers aboard the SS Santa Mercedes.

A far cry from lecturing to Harvard undergraduates! But the same hours of careful research for each 30-minute talk were very much in evidence. "I'm accustomed to preparing my lectures," he explained.

His talks were peppered with anecdotes drawn from a lifetime of study. And no wonder! Admiral Morison's life has been wrapped up with the sea. He comes by it naturally; his forebears were part of the New England seafaring tradition, and many of his books reflect this fascination.

He himself became an admiral in World War II, and about that time he accepted the task of writing the naval history of the war. Much of the 15-volume "History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II" came from his own on-the-scene observations.

It is this penchant for reliving the experiences of the doctory seamen about whom he writes — Columbus, Drake, Magellan, or more modern heroes — that so distinguishes Admiral Morison from most other historians.

You see what the early navigators saw when you follow their routes," he explained one

evening. "I got my technique from Parkman (a 19th-century historian); a man of the plains and forests, he went into the wilderness and saw it as the early explorers did. I have used the same technique for the sea voyages to the Americas."

It is an approach that has served Admiral Morison well. From his early studies of Columbus to his biographies of John Paul Jones and Commodore Matthew C. Perry and on to the "European Discovery of America," he has retraced his principal characters in their voyages and their lives as few other historians have done with their subjects.

This refracting is at its ultimate in the two-volume history of discovery: The first book covers the northern voyages from 800 to 1800 A.D. of the Norsemen, John Cabot, Jacques Cartier, and a score of others. The second focuses on the years 1492 to 1616 and Columbus, Vesputius, Magellan, Drake, and Sebastian Cabot.

It is Columbus who obviously fascinates Admiral Morison most. He tells the tale of New World discoveries of Columbus with ever-increasing gusto, and there is no doubt he has little sympathy for the modern-day

debunkers of Columbus who would call him merely a Johnny-come-lately.

Admiral Morison talked candidly about the various theories that the Vikings, the English, the Phoenicians, and others got to the New World first. "This is a debunking age," he commented. "That's why all these theories keep coming up."

For Admiral Morison, none of these theories is based on identifiable facts. As far as the Phoenicians getting to Brazil, as advanced by various United States and European historians, he said flatly, "There is absolutely no evidence," adding that he doubted the Phoenician ships could have made it to America.

Rather than wasting their time with such theories, he counseled, historians would be better advised to base themselves on the facts and then write a good tale. "History is essentially the story of human life on the planet," he said. "You've got to make it flow." Those are simple words, but coming from a man whose 55-year career of writing history has produced 48 books, two Pulitzer Prizes, and countless other awards, they sum up a philosophy that has made Samuel Elliot Morison the patriarch of United States historians. "I write history as a story," he added simply. "That is what history is, essentially."



# French/German

# Duett der Supermächte

**Von Joseph C. Harsch**

**Joseph C. Harsch**

## The superpower duet

The Soviet Union is a tyranny. It tyrannizes all its citizens. It tyrannizes ethnic minorities more heavily than the dominant Russians. It has stamped out the freedom of Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians, of Uzbeks and Kirghiz, of Crimean-Tatars and Ukrainians. All would be free of Moscow, and of their Russian overlords, if they could.

Americans dislike tyranny, but the United States as a superpower has business to transact with the world's only other superpower. It is inconvenient. It is also human—and not beholden to Moscow.

Die Amerikaner haben eine Abneigung gegen Tyrannei, aber als Supermacht haben die Vereinigten Staaten mit der einzigen anderen Supermacht Geschäfte abzuwickeln. Das ist widerspruchsvoll. Aber es ist auch menschlich — und wahrscheinlich notwendig.

## Quelles sont nos pensées?

Mon mari est gardien dans un grand entrepôt. Jour après jour, un certain homme le traînait verbalement et un autre lui faisait des suggestions obscènes. Mais mon mari savait qu'en Dieu il pouvait trouver sa défense. A chaque instant il remplaçait dans sa pensée tout ce qui se présentait comme l'image d'un homme immoral, ou d'un

\*Christian Science prononcer "kristienn" "solaunce"

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres parties allées de la Semaine Classique en France, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, 110 Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts. U.S.A. 02115

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche bzw. Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

## Was denken wir?

Wenn wir unsere Gedanken ständig prüfen und mit der heiligen Wahrheit des geistigen Seins bereichern, werden wir das Gute, das uns dauernd umgibt, leichter erkennen und annehmen.

**1. Korinther 8:28: "Wissenschaft und Gesundenheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift."**  
**Mat. 13:12: "Reichet das Gute."** 3. 50.

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, lateinlich dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Leseseminaren der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekaufte werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, U.S.A. 02115.

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"Ghost Ranch Hills, Northern New Mexico" 1937: by Ansel Adams

Picture courtesy of the New York Graphic Society

## A revelation of timelessness

Some photographs are more like paintings than photographs. Rather than supplying what we may be accustomed to from a photograph — the fleeting moment of time or place captured in a single image and calling forth an immediate response — they invite us to dwell on the formal qualities of shape, form, light, shadow and depth which we usually associate with a painting. In this kind of photograph, writes Van Deren Coke in "The Painter and the Photograph," "attention is divided between the way in which the forms are represented and the message the forms are meant to convey."

Ansel Adams' photographs are certainly these kinds of photographs. In monumental images of bouldering hills, frozen lakes, granite cliffs, sun and snow-lit peaks we find

### From where it was first spoken

If there were caught even an intimation of what was given out from this small Mount

how all would be stopped mid-breath, mid-word! How all would be struck to a stillness more terrible to endure than bombs!

For nowhere — nowhere in that great shock — would there be found (for the tongue to adopt or the ear, corrupted, to fasten upon) a single mutilation of sound.

Only, in a shuddering hush, the power: still waiting here.

Doris Peck

notations other than what is obviously associated with the rock.

... to photograph truthfully and effectively is to see beneath the surface. Art must reach further than impression of self-revelation. Art, said Alfred Stieglitz, is the affirmation of life. And life, or its eternal evidence, is everywhere. ... Some photographers take reality as sculptors take wood or stone and impose upon it the dominions of their own thought and spirit. Others come before reality more tenderly and a photograph to them is an instrument of love and revelation.

Thus, we have the paradox of the art photograph. While moving further and further away from self-conscious art intention, it comes closer and closer to "reality" or to "life" — which is really the aim of art. In a painting, art tends toward reality; in a photograph, through photographic vision (the photographer's special way of seeing life and "its eternal evidence") reality tends toward art.

This is really the only "message the forms are meant to convey." "Expression without doctrine," writes Adams, "my photographs are ... ends in themselves, images of the endless moments of the world."

Susan Littlewood

### When the weather is clear in me

From somewhere tall with silence comes a sound like the reverse of thunder. Out of space, out of its silent wonder, still is wound an endless spiral of creation. Face whatever stars I will (or all, or none) — even by my hearth upon a moonless night — I sense a range of suns beyond our sun, a pattern drawn with galaxies of light. And every universe is like a sea with tidal nights and days by which I live to glimpse the reaches of infinity when weather's clear within me — views that give awareness of what marvels must exist beyond the most developed concepts of the human mind. And with these now I list (to lead the rest) the mystic reach of love.

Bonnie May Malody

### On enduring

I remember taking a walk with John Burroughs, that very human naturalist, half a century ago. He had chosen to make his home in the Catskill Mountains in New York State. His daily outlook commanded a majestic view of the Hudson River Valley and the heights beyond. (Had it been possible, I should have made my home accessible to that magnificent outlook which stirred one to admiration in every direction.)

Presently Mr. Burroughs slapped his hand down on the rock on which we were sitting and exclaimed, "That lasts." I did not modify his exclamation by adding, "But only for a few million years." I was just free of college and had not the wit to ask the old naturalist why he was so delighted by the idea of durability.

But I know now; and understand perfectly why folk journey over half a hemisphere to view the Sphinx and the Pyramids. They are victorious lasters in a wilderness of change. They prop up the tent of time and remind us that people, very like ourselves, lived, ate breakfast, toiled at some available job, and went to an earned rest. We try to preserve the beat of those items in our biographies, and histories, and replicas of environments. The past is nine-tenths of our riches if we use it properly.

For us humans, sculpture is a borrowed art. The elements were hard at it millennia ago. The Grand Canyon is one of nature's myriad masterpieces. But an identical miniature can be found in the nearest clay bank. How much we have lost by not discovering the camera a millennium or two earlier! What the art galleries would pay for a snapshot of Moses on that mountain top, or Joshua shouting the walls down!

I wonder why we adults take faces almost for granted. Certainly our colleges would have based many a course on an extensive view of the human countenance if photography had begun with the ancient Greeks. We could have profited beyond expectation and perhaps forestalled our system of wars — that is, if our race was really teachable, a fact not yet determined.

For we do take faces for granted. The

invention of the trolley car cheapened the sight. There one could study a dozen countenances daily. But it is impossible not to learn many things from such exposures. Someone said, quite gratuitously, that familiarity breeds contempt. I think it gives birth to wisdom, often to affection. Yet we scant the privilege of looking with intent to learn. Our difficulty is that we scant the opportunity of knowing our brothers and sisters thoroughly. Who collects smiles, let alone frowns? When we are offered the enduring, we probably glance at it, then pass on to the next sight without thought. We thrill at fireworks because they do not last. We encourage the evanescent to go faster. Yet it is the lasting that pays the larger dividend.

If I had a finger in curriculum-making I should offer courses on the durable. I would earn an impressive sum from a textbook which I would write entitled "That which lasts." Great art, for example, lifts us out of time, far above the desperation of any moment. The sculptor invites us into the vicinity of forever. He allows us to pause at the peak of our joy and take it in.

In some golden sunrise of our race we whispered, "forever." Though few could take in its prodigious meaning, we could not risk letting it go. So we invented symbols for that quintessential imagination. We sought to make something worthy of that venture and called it "inspired imagination." The artists came nearest to success. Michelangelo succeeded, and Milton, and Beethoven. Shakespeare succeeded in his way, in his anticipation of the lasting. The heights they reached suggest the lasting. They share in advance a touch of measureless peace.

Though members of our hurried race, sculptors have put that yearning into marble. The great statues wish you well. We are betrothed to the lasting in every art, and our poetry, our paintings, our religion carry a message of the eternal. In the depth of sorrow or on the peaks of joy we are reminded of our heritage: that which endures.

T. Morris Longstrech

### Of note

When asked do I read music? One answer I must tell, "Of course I read it, I just don't pronounce it very well."

Paul Armstrong

### The Monitor's religious article

## What are our thoughts?

Even in what appear to be adverse circumstances, how wonderful it is to realize that good is always present! Each minute can be filled with good if we understandingly acknowledge it, expect it, and claim it for our own. Paul wrote, "All things work together for good to them that love God." God, divine Love, fills all space with good — even where evil seems to be claiming attention.

Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, writes, "Good demands of man every hour, in which to work out the problem of being." Recently my husband and I decided to put this into practice by frequently checking our thoughts.

It was surprising to find how many false notions can creep in during just an hour! Impatience, pride, criticism, ruminating over past mistakes, self-condemnation. But we can, just as soon as these false suggestions come to us, turn to God and replace these bad thoughts with good ones, and with the exercise of Christlike qualities such as patience, humility, love, compassion, forgiveness. This is not difficult as one realizes that God, Love, is always present and that there is no other power besides God.

My husband works as a security guard in a large warehouse. Day after day he was verbally harassed by one man and offered lewd suggestions by another. But he knew he could find his defense in God. Hourly he replaced in his thought whatever appeared to be a picture of an immoral man, or an aggressive man, with the true, spiritual man created as God's reflection, expressing only the intelligence and goodness of his Maker. My husband knew that the man of God's creating — the real, spiritual selfhood of each of us — is a loved, sustained child of

God for whom only good is present. Evil is a misconception and has no source, no power.

The very next day the whole atmosphere seemed to change. The harassments and suggestions stopped. Divine Love had healed the situation.

The Bible indicates that God's supreme wisdom is the basis of all good. The divine Mind is continually imparting good to us, but we should be receptive to it in its various forms. Suggestions of sin, sickness, and death are not thoughts from divine Mind. Indeed, Mrs. Eddy writes, "From such thoughts — mortal inventions, one and all — Christ Jesus came to save men, through ever-present and eternal good."

By constantly examining our thoughts and by correcting them with the healing truth of spiritual being, we will more readily recognize and accept the good that continually surrounds us.

\*Romans 8:28; \*\*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 261; †Unity of Good, p. 60.

## A deeply Christian way of healing

The Bible speaks of the great love and compassion that moved Jesus when he healed. In his ministry he turned the thought of those seeking healing to a fuller understanding of God's love and goodness.

In a deep, prayerful search of the Bible, Mary Baker Eddy discovered that Jesus' teaching and healing were scientific. She learned that health, freedom, and abundance are the natural and provable effects of God's overflowing goodwill for His children.

After proving this in her own healing work, she taught others how they could be healed by spiritual means alone. She explains this method of Christian healing in her book Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures. A careful study of its message can give you the clear understanding of God that heals. You can obtain a copy with this coupon below.

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Margaret Tsuchi



# OPINION

Erwin D. Canham

## What's new in America?

Return to the United States after three months' absence raises the inevitable question: What has changed?

Well, the economy is better. The stock market is up, although that is a fallible and mercurial indicator. Industrial production is up. Inflation is less. The long-awaited recovery from recession seems tentatively under way. So far, so good.

President Ford is in a stronger position. The polls show his relative standing to have improved, notably since the Mayaguez incident. His remarkable success in getting vetoes sustained in Congress is matched by the failure of his energy program. Nevertheless, there seems to be a conservative, or anti-spending, tide flowing.

Congress is as ineffectively led as it was three months ago, maybe more so. The large Democratic majorities have not produced confident and coordinated control. Legislative ineptitude has rarely been more open and embarrassing than in the struggle over the New Hampshire Senate seat.

The presidential race for 1976 shows President Ford off to a start necessitated by the right-wing challenge from Ronald Reagan. Nevertheless, the President seems to be in pretty good shape, although his turn to a Georgian, Howard (Bo) Callaway, as campaign manager shows the increasing Republican reliance on conservative elements in the South. The Republican liberals, still potentially a strong cohort, don't get much attention from the White House.

The Democratic presidential hopefuls are almost as confused as they were in April, although Gov. George Wallace's position seems to be strengthened. His possible capture of the Democratic nomination, long described as unthinkable, now is being apprehensively discussed. His opponents are divided and flayed.

Beyond politics and economics, the American nation seems to be embarked upon its bicentennial in a mood which more than anything else ponders the values which have

been lost or damaged in national society. The luminous clarity of the Founding Fathers, the heroism of the struggle for freedom, the Spartan dedication of life in the young republic, are all in contrast to the self-indulgence and materialism of today.

There seems to be a reaching out, as yet rather groping, for something better. Just as students on the campuses, a year or two ago, swung away from revolt into a self-centered mood of study and concern about jobs, so national opinion — which may lag behind student opinion — now is in the same self-centered mood, sometimes resembling apathy.

Such a transitional mood could be succeeded by a demand for national reawakening. It is quite apparent that the welfare state does not adequately solve human problems. Governmental regulation of abuse has often turned into bureaucratic bumbling.

And, worst of all, the atrocious abuse of power in the name of national security —

notably the CIA — shows Americans what crimes secret power can commit.

There is no question of the need for national defense nor of military and political intelligence. But the nation is rudely reminded that all such efforts have to be responsibly and sensibly curbed by more than one control. Here Congress, which specifically had "watchdog" authority over the CIA, failed in its function.

Once more, in the bicentennial time, we are reminded that the Founding Fathers feared abuse of power more than anything else, and sought to curb it by setting up checks and balances.

Beyond governmental checks, however, beyond anything government can do, is the need for vigorous, alert, informed individual citizenship and private action. That begins in the family and the community. Perhaps an awareness of the need for individual awakening is growing.

Melvin Maddocks

## The wizard of Futurology

"Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, creeps in this petty pace from day to day." Not so, according to those party-liners of "It's later-than-you-think," the Futurologists, who believe that tomorrow is coming at us less like a pedestrian than a rocket.

Yes, we're back on that subject, this time in the person of Alvin Toffler, who will go down in history — excuse the unfuturist expression — as the Paul Revere of what's next by virtue of authoring the phrase that became a book: "Future Shock."

Mr. Toffler, we're happy to report, is the sort of Futurologist who stays at the Ritz. His dark business suit seems to say: "Here is a Futurologist that a conservative can trust," while his boots whisper sotto voce to the liberals: "But he's ready for change too, of course — if in good taste."

If we think of the Future as the Land of Oz, then Futurologists bouncing down the Yellow Brick Road might be divided into three types. The Cowardly Lions, otherwise known as the doomsayers, have seen the

Future, and it doesn't work. They incant the fatal and overlapping "if." If we find enough energy, which they doubt, we'll pollute the planet to oblivion. And even if we don't, we'll bury it under wall-to-wall people.

The Tin Woodsmen are the mystics who believe the Future depends upon having a heart — and changing it: abandoning the false gods of science and technology for ecstasy and transcendentalism.

The Scarecrows are the rationalists who believe that by thinking, by brain power, we can problem-solve the Future. Mr. Toffler may be the best-groomed Scarecrow around.

In his new book, "The Eco-Spasm Report" (Bantam, \$1.50), he acknowledges with the doomsayers that "industrial civilization" is cracking up and "incomprehensible dread" is abroad on the Yellow Brick Road. With the mystics, he acknowledges that we are moving into "a wholly new" world which cannot be understood by parallels to the past.

But, in person, Mr. Toffler exudes a relish for the Future that sends its own message. "Paradoxically, I find thinking about the Future stabilizing," he confesses.

He makes prospecting for the Future seem like the adventure of the times. Why go to Paris or even Tibet when you can trip to tomorrow?

Like most Americans with an enthusiasm (or a crisis), Mr. Toffler is a bit of an evangelist. Using phrases like "anticipatory democracy," he wants to get everybody out on the Yellow Brick Road with him, comprising a sort of town-meeting-on-the-move, voting on the Future.

"You don't have to be an expert to know what you want." This was the motto of a recent State of Washington study of future options, and it seems to be Mr. Toffler's too.

"We obviously need experts," he explains in earnest conversation. "But experts are very narrow people. They can't be trusted to make policy. They have disciplinary limits. They have territorial self-interest. Their careers, their egos are at stake. An energy expert, for instance, can't help seeing the future as an energy problem, and it isn't. It's so much more."

"I like the analogy of the eye. An expert focuses, looks deeply. But the layman performs the function of peripheral vision."

"An awesome but exhilarating task" lies ahead, Mr. Toffler concludes. We anticipatory-democrats must "humanize technology" and "overhaul some of our creaking institutions" before E-Day (Eco-Spasm Day).

How? Well, that's another question. But let's scratch our sawdust heads, and take it one Ray-Bolger-step at a time.

Mr. Toffler is more human than the Cowardly Lions and the Tin Woodsmen — a nice Scarecrow who really doesn't want to future-shock anybody. Still, if you cherish old Italic script, your grandfather's Liddell-Scott Greek dictionary, and flowers pressed between the pages of "The Fannie Farmer Cookbook," he is not exactly your man. As we spun out the revolving door at the Ritz with the famous sign over it, "Not an Accredited Egress," the absurd and trivial question occurred to us: "Will there be Grand Old Hotels down that Yellow Brick Road?"

## Revisiting the corridors of power

By Adam Yarmolinsky

In the years since I left Washington and government service, during the mid-'60s, I've been back there, I suppose, several hundred times, but surprisingly seldom to reenter the bureaucratic labyrinth. It was usually to attend a private committee meeting, a congressional hearing, or a conference either in a downtown hotel or in one of those semirural retreats that surround the nation's capital, or to visit a law office or a newspaper office or an old friend.

But recently I had occasion to call on a government official in an office at the end of one of those long corridors in one of those nearly identical government office buildings, and as I tried to retrace my steps out of the labyrinth, without Theseus' skein of thread to guide me, I began to retrace my thoughts about the locus of power.

Since I left Washington, I've changed a good deal. In fact every cell in my body has replaced itself, unless high school biology has itself been replaced by some new knowledge.

And Washington has changed, too. Instead of a President whose faults were as exaggerated as his virtues, there is a President whose deepest desire is distinctly smaller than life — to be like everybody else — and who seems to be achieving his desire.

There is an administration that is trying to undo most of the things that were done by the administration that was there when I left. And

there is a Congress that is trying — with very little success — to hang on to a lot of the things that I remember we had to fight to get them to let us do — like Medicare and Medicaid, and the poverty program, and aid to education.

I don't remember that Watergate had even been built when I left Washington, and when the President I left behind was mad at people, he didn't listen in on what they were saying — he just shouted at them.

The end of American involvement in Viet-



nam was still more than six years away, but some of my colleagues in government still thought they could see the light at the end of the tunnel — and I don't think any of us had realized just how dark that tunnel was.

It is scary how easily we accommodate to things. I took it for granted that the war we were in had some point, as I took it for granted that the building I worked in had five sides.

Despite Vietnam, I also took it for granted that, with good will, all things were do-able —

although in self-defense I must add that I had already rejected the Pentagon slogan: "If you can do it, do it."

I suspect that people in Washington today are more concerned with what they can't do — most of them because they had been beaten on so much, and some of them because they've learned (I hope) that even beating on people doesn't get things done.

I had forgotten how long and narrow the corridors were, and how the people in the rooms off the corridors didn't bother to look out the windows much. These are not, I thought, the corridors of power that novelists (and columnists) write about. In fact, they look more like the corridors of impotence, and their perspective, narrowing into dimness, makes the people in them seem smaller, not bigger, than the people outside.

It struck me, in fact, that there is very little power in Washington these days. Not in the White House where the principal power seems to be the veto power. And not in the Congress either. I remembered going down to testify before a congressional committee a few months ago, and as I listened to the questions and comments from the committee bench I thought, "What these people feel most acutely is that they really can't do much about the problems they've asked me here to discuss."

A decade ago I believed that the seat of power was in Washington. Today, I recognize that there is still enormous power in Washington, measured in megatons and dollars, status and careers. But I think I've also discovered the power that matters has a more elusive quality, and is more dispersed than I realized seven years ago. The kind of power I value now is the power to arrange ideas, and pieces of the physical world, in ways that are interesting and pleasing, and even the power to challenge existing institutions, to be an agent of change for huge power structures that are preoccupied with survival.

It had not occurred to me 10 years ago that Rosa Parks (whose arrest led to the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955) was a more powerful person in the civil-rights movement than Lyndon Johnson.

When I came out of that government office building the other day, Washington was still very much alive even in the dead heat: green and leafy, and bright with Lady Bird's flower beds. The streets are wide, even if the corridors aren't, and the people on the streets smile more than the people in the corridors.

But I was glad to get on the plane to come back home.

Mr. Yarmolinsky, who served in the Defense Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, is Ralph Waldo Emerson University professor at the University of Massachusetts.

# COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

## China's long reach into Europe

Little noticed in the whirlpool of Portuguese politics of recent days is the existence in Portugal of a small Communist Party with ties to China. Its leaders have been in China. It disagrees with the official, Moscow-oriented Communist Party, the PCP. In the tug of war between the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the Socialists, in which the PCP backed the MFA, the China-linked group, the Alliance of Workers and Peasants (AOC), has supported the Socialists.

The existence of this anti-Moscow, pro-Peking movement in Lisbon may or may not influence the course of political events in Portugal. But it is one, if perhaps small, symptom of China's rising interest in affairs in Western Europe. And China is not only interested. It also is playing a hand in European affairs whenever and wherever it can.

Peking's resources in Europe are not yet impressive. Communist parties with Peking ties are usually small and not yet of serious weight. Not all communist groups who call themselves Marxist are associated with the Chinese Government. But Peking does have its eyes and ears in small splinter groups on

the streets of most European cities, and it is cultivating official relations at the top with the governments of Western Europe.

Already, China has official diplomatic relations with every country in Western Europe except for Portugal and Ireland. And it is working on the relationship with Portugal which is complicated by the problem of future control of the Portuguese territory of Macao, south of Hong Kong. The Portuguese want to get rid of it. It seems that Peking would prefer to have it remain for the time being a nominal Portuguese colony — to the surprise of the Portuguese.

Also, China has opened official relations with the European Community (Common Market). The only other communist country to have such relations is Yugoslavia.

In economic affairs Western Europe now is China's third most important trading partner. The first two are Japan and Hong Kong.

The past six months have seen a parade of Western European political leaders going to and coming from Peking. Preference has been given to those who favor West European

unity and exhibit skepticism about "detente" with the Soviet Union. Willy Brandt has been ignored, but German opposition leaders who criticized Mr. Brandt's detente policy have been welcomed in Peking. Britain's opposition party leader, Edward Heath, was given full red-carpet treatment in Peking as his reward for favoring British membership in the Common Market. Prime Minister Harold Wilson has been given cool and critical treatment in the Chinese press beginning with his visit to Moscow in February.

The Chinese hand in European affairs is seen in the current fact that there will be one empty chair at Helsinki at the end of this month when East and West Europeans meet to sign the so-called European security document. Everyone will be there — except for Albania which is a loyal friend and client of China. Albania will have no part in any deal which smooths and eases relations between Western and Eastern Europe. China, and its friends, particularly disapprove of detente which they see as foolish blindness to the menace of Soviet imperialism.

The Chinese hand was first noticed in European affairs when Prime Minister Chou

En-lai visited Poland immediately after the Soviet suppression of freedom in Hungary in 1956. Soviet troops had been maneuvering in Poland and it seemed possible that they would seize Warsaw and overthrow the Gomulka regime. The Chou visit seemed to act as a brake on Soviet hostility to that regime.

China's interest in Europe has been continuous ever since but on nothing like the present scale. Today, China plays a quiet but positive role in Europe. It does what it can to thwart the purposes of Moscow and to encourage the concept of a strong and independent Western Europe.

It would be ironic if the long hand of Peking, stretching halfway around the world, helped in thwarting the pro-Moscow communists in Portugal. Undoubtedly, Peking would if it could.

Probably China's street agent in Portugal, the AOC, is outgunned by Moscow's agent, the PCP. But there is a Chinese spoon in the Portuguese political pot. If Moscow's purposes fail, as they still well may, the Chinese will have been in there working alongside every other person who has reason to try to keep Moscow from getting control of Portugal.

## How will joint flight benefit earth?

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johnson Space Center, Houston  
In a world facing shortages of food and energy, there are many people who feel that space is a fruitless frontier. But there is a very real possibility that bits and pieces of the solutions to these problems will come from the hardware and vision which have proceeded from space exploration — and will continue to do so.

As some NASA scientists have estimated, even if the space program did nothing more than make an accurate five-day weather forecast possible, it would pay for itself many times over.

The amount of food lost each year from unseasonable rain, hail, and frost is monumental, much of this could be saved with better weather prediction.

And if the spirit of diplomatic detente on earth is advanced by current and future space cooperation between the two superpowers, other benefits would follow. It is just possible that the cooperation might lead to less expense on both sides for expensive armaments.

And it is perhaps rather more possible that cooperation can lead to avoiding the enormous duplication that has necessarily occurred as the U.S. and the Soviet Union have pursued their separate space programs.

The United States has spent \$57 billion on space programs to date. There is no way to measure the Soviet effort in equivalent terms, but it must be about as great.

Because the problems of strong-arming payloads into orbit, protecting men from the vacuum of space, or reaching the

planets are the same no matter who attempts them, much of the research and development must have been essentially the same. Political realities made this inevitable.

But the direction that the two space programs have taken in recent years makes cooperation potentially very beneficial.

The Soviets seem to be focusing their efforts on manned space stations in orbit. The United States has concentrated on the space shuttle, a transportation system designed to inexpensively boost payloads into orbit.

With the docking gear being tested on this mission the shuttle could pick up with the Soviet space station. If NASA economics are right, the shuttle would be the least expensive way for the Soviets to supply

their orbiting stations and increased business for the shuttle would help reduce its cost per flight.

Meaningful cooperation between the two space powers can only result in greater returns to both nations, and the entire world.

This is what the U.S. space agency, with its commitment to space and its pinched budget, is earnestly working for. Of course, NASA officials also realize that international space commitments can help stabilize and perhaps even bolster U.S. space expenditures.

Since 1970 the Soviet Union has also appeared to take the idea of space cooperation seriously. However it has done so while emphasizing that this must be on the basis of national programs, not by "supranational programs" where their sovereignty might be compromised.

Charles W. Yost

## Yearnings in Jerusalem

The prevailing mood in Israel continues to be one of profound mistrust of Arab goodwill, Arab intentions, and Arab good faith. Moreover, few Israelis have confidence in guarantees from the United Nations, the Soviet Union, or even, though its support is considered essential, the United States. No reliable alternative to "secure boundaries" and Israel's present military superiority is perceived in any near future.

There are the salient impressions emerging from conversations last week with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, Defense Minister Shimon Peres, Abba Eban, former Foreign Minister, Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud, and numerous others.

There are many differences of emphasis, of strategy, and of disposition among them, but all share the same deep-rooted skepticism and caution, the same fear that a few false moves could jeopardize or lose all that a generation has won since 1948.

If an interim agreement for a further withdrawal in Sinai is accepted, as seems likely at this writing, it will not be because most Israelis perceive it as advantageous or even fair, but because the United States considers it so.

Israelis believe they will be giving up territory useful to their defense, and oil fields now providing half their needs, in exchange for Egyptian verbal assurances given within

the context of a continuing state of war and subject to revocation at any time.

Many in and out of the government would have preferred to reject such terms. It has become clear since March, however, that to do so would seriously weaken, perhaps even fatally undermine, the absolutely indispensable support of the U.S.

Some Israelis claim that they are being required to sacrifice their interests in order that the U.S. may strengthen its position in the Arab world. But the majority nevertheless feels it has little choice when confronted by the alternative of sacrificing, on the one hand, useful but not vital territory in the Sinai and, on the other, risking the wrath of a determined American administration.

Israeli leaders, moreover, have no illusion that this partial agreement with Egypt will satisfy the Syrians, the Jordanians, the Palestinians, and other Arabs, or give Israel more than a very brief respite.

The Israelis are for the most part unwilling to contemplate another withdrawal on the Golan Heights before a comprehensive and definitive settlement. Indeed, a survey which I made of topography on the ground there makes clear that an evacuation of the hills the Israelis now occupy overlooking Kuneitra would leave them no tenable military position whatsoever on the heights.

Most Israelis seem willing, therefore, since they realize the other Arabs cannot be ignored — to go to a resumed Geneva

conference in the fairly near future. Most hope it will meet later rather than sooner, and assume it will go on a very long time. Many expect it to degenerate into a mini-UN assembly, with most of what business it does being done elsewhere than in Geneva. But most would probably be ready to go — if the Palestine Liberation Organization is not represented there.

There seems to be an almost unanimous conviction that it would be impossible to live next to a state dominated by the PLO. A Palestine state associated with Jordan, or led by moderates explicitly recognizing the existence of Israel, most Israelis would probably admit, is eventually inescapable.

But a state led by those publicly committed to the destruction of Israel, by those responsible for such acts of indiscriminate terror as that in Jerusalem on July 4 — that seems to them intolerable. Even if Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, should "recognize" them, they remain convinced he would soon be assassinated or superseded by others even more irreconcilable.

When one probes deeper into the underlying factors obstructing a general peace, one encounters three. First is the old contradiction between the Arab demand for total withdrawal to the 1967 lines and the Israeli demand for secure boundaries, which most Israelis do not consider the 1967 lines to be.

Second is the Israeli insistence on some tangible demonstrations of Arab acceptance

and recognition (face-to-face negotiations, an end to boycott and hostile propaganda, freer movement of persons) to test Arab goodwill before a final peace is made — in contrast with Arab insistence that those steps can only follow, not precede, a final peace.

Third is that, with which this article began: the profound mistrust which pervades and constrains both sides but which is particularly intense among the Israelis, with their memories of ghettos, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust; their feeling of vulnerability because of the narrow confines of their state; their sense of isolation because of growing indifference or hostility in the international community.

So their relationship to the U.S. cannot help but be the rock — or the shifting sands, depending on how one sees it — on which their security rests. Many recent this dependence and hope eventually to escape from it, but all recognize it is inescapable for some time to come.

Out of all these disparate elements, tangible and intangible, are compounded the yearning for acceptance and peace, the abiding fear of destruction, the firm resolution to stand alone if necessary — and to survive — which still defines the personality of Israel in its 28th year.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

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